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8 July 1982

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2030

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'LISTY' ON CPSU-CPI RIFT

Rome LISTY in Czech No 2, May 82 pp 18-20

/Article by J.P.: A Grave Conflict; On the Polemics between the CPI and the CPSU/

/Text/ Behind the tragic events in Poland and the resultant increase in world tensions, as well as behind the increase in prices and the worsening of the political and economic situation at home, an event has remained relatively obscure which in its scope has truly historic significance and will have numerous practical consequences for further world development, I have in mind the polemic between the CPSU, the largest communist party in the world and the executive power in one of the world superpowers, and the Italian Communist Party (CPI), the strongest communist party in the West.

The conflict erupted following the publication of a wide-ranging position paper of the CPI leadership in the daily UNITA on 30 December 1981, under the title "Reflections on the Dramatic Events in Poland." The CPSU adopted a position on this in PRAVDA on 24 January 1982, in which it sharply criticized the CPI document (without, however, giving PRAVDA readers the possibility of getting acquainted with it, which was also the case with the less than numerous readership of RUDE PRAVO, which eagerly reprinted the PRAVDA article and subsequently added to it its own critique of CPI policy, without deeming it desirable, even if only in excerpts, to make it possible to read that which was being attacked; we know this technique too well to become so directly angered by it as the Italian communists, who called it "unfair" and "foreign to Leninist tradition."). On 25 January, UNITA published the full text of the Soviet document and the reply of the CPI on the day after this. There then ensued an entire series of polemics on this theme between additional CPSU and CPI periodicals such as KOMMUNIST and RINASCITA, and a number of interviews with CPI leaders on this issue which will proceed further and, clearly, not end any time soon, but rather spread to other communist parties.

The scope of these documents and the terminology which the arguing parties are using quite clearly dissuades the ordinary citizen from reading them. Many have the impression that this is a matter of some kind of argument concerning dogma with no impact on simple believers or nonbelievers. This is, however, a mistake, because this time it is not a matter of an argument between two versions of a single dogma, but of a political engagement which relates to all of the major problems of our time.

This argument concerns the character of the social system in the USSR and, generally, that of so-called real socialism, the causes of the deep crisis in the countries of Eastern Europe, the foreign policy of the USSR, democracy under socialism, but mainly concerns whether and in what ways the systems of the West and the East may be reformable and, certainly and above all, what conclusions may be drawn from the tragic events in Poland.

It is true that this is not exactly the first time that these problems have been written about and discussed in the CPI press or that positions have been expressed which differ from those which one hears in Moscow and Prague from the official media. It is sufficient to call to mind the so-called Togliatti memorandum from Yalta, the criticism of Soviet military intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 and, recently, that in Afghanistan as well in 1980, the refusal to condone the resolution of conflict in the East with political repression, the different position adopted towards the Chinese CP and to the process of European unification, etc., etc. But until January 1982, these polemics had been marked by an attempt not to allow this critical posture to grow into an open rejection of the so-called Soviet model and, especially, by a fear of a schism between the CPI and the CPSU which was considered to be tragic for socialism. The USSR was viewed, you see, by the Italian communists much more critically then before, but still as a country with a socialist system and as the direct recipient of the legacy of the October revolution, and also as the "guarantee" of world peace.

A New Situation

These reservations and limitations have now fallen or are falling one after the other. The break occurred as a direct consequence of the installation of the military dictatorship in Poland on 13 December 1981, which meant the strangling of hopes for a gradual democratization, in which the Italian communists had perceived the single possibility for overcoming the crisis and the hope that socialism could be linked with democracy even in the countries under Soviet hegemony. The destruction of these hopes by a military and police intervention, the authorship of which the CPI clearly recognized to have been in Moscow, had the effect of turning "quantity" into "quality" and of placing us in a new situation.

PRAVDA and RUDE PRAVO, however, are hding the dispute by distorting the CPI positions, meaning that they can create the impression in the uninformed reader that the CPI is in far more radical positions and that it sees the USSR through the same eyes as the USA. They accuse the CPI of "belittling the significance of the October revolution"; the CPI, however, even today does not deny the great historical significance of the October revolution, which it continues to see as a "break" in the old system and the beginning of great social changes in the world, but at the same time it holds that this positive influence has already been "exhausted" and that new impulses for socialism may be expected from elsewhere, above all from the development of the industrially advanced western countries. It certainly would be possible to discuss the issue of why the CPI sees this "exhaustion" of the influence of the October revolution only now and not earlier, for instance after the liquidation of the "Prague Spring" or the repression of the Hungarian revolution in

1956 (as they have been criticized by, for instance, the Italian socialists); for the CPI, this has rather been a process of gradual degeneration in Stalin's time, but with renewed hope of a "return to the roots" following the Twentieth CPSU Congress at the time of Khrushchev's rule, and with a new "return" to dogmatism and to the cult of personality recently. This is related as well to an evaluation of the international policy of the USSR as a political super power which primarily defends its power objectives and which thus often comes into conflict with the objectives of the struggles of other peoples for independence and socialism. CPI documents clearly state that Soviet policy actions such as the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia and in Afghanistan and exaggerated arms production are in clear conflict with the interests of peoples, and therefore must be criticized by the CPI.

CPI documents subject to open criticism the lack of any kind of democracy and possibilities for citizens to participate in decision-making. When PRAVDA takes issues with this thesis by ennumerating how many thousands of delegates are active in "soviets" at various levels and how many meetings and conferences take place, the CPI asks "At which assemblies and meetings, parties or unions or workplaces may a communist who disagrees or a citizen who has a different view express himself on political issues, and where is it possible to write publicly about this?" It is certainly easy to understand why PRAVDA or RUDE PRAVO do not want to publish CPI documents with such heretical questions.

Socialism and Democracy

The same applies to the CPI thesis that "socialism must be a manifestation of the broadest possible true democracy" and that without democracy, in effect, no socialism can exist, even though it is possible to allow for the gradual realization of these principles, but under the conditions that development proceed in the direction of ever broader democracy and under no circumstances in the opposite direction, which is how the CPI perceives development in the USSR and the other countries of Eastern Europe.

In this spirit as well, the CPI rejects the military coup in Poland and the PRAVDA thesis of the danger of "counterrevolution": "The working class and the majority of the people are the only forces which can legitimize socialist power in Poland; to move against them with military force means in no sense to defend socialism, but to work against its ideals and foundation." The CPI views the causes of the Polish crisis in a refusal to call into question the so-called Soviet model of socialism, an unwillingness to allow the introduction of true political pluralism and in adherence to the so-called leading role of the party which is "in and of itself a suspect concept." The CPI places the blame for this crisis quite clearly, on the one hand, on "conservative forces" within Poland and, simultaneously, on the USSR and the neighboring countries of the Warsaw Pact. This amounts to a denial of the official thesis concerning "internal affairs" of Poland, some kind of "western meddling" or the "danger of civil war" which had to be headed off solely by a military regime.

In this regard, the CPI also denies the favorite accusation of "anti-sovietism" leveled at all critics of the Soviet system, and rejects the conception of world development as a "struggle between two camps"; under such conditions whoever criticizes the USSR is placed "objectively" in the other camp, and vice versa. In the same vein, the CPI rejects the very concept of "real socialism," according to which every other idea of socialism is considered to be something that must be rejected as hostile. For this reason, the CPI has already stopped considering itself as a "component" of a unified communist movement grouped "around the USSR," but wishes to maintain quite independent, autonomous relations with all aspects of the workers movement, whether they adhere to communism, socialism or to social democracy. This is one of the most important isues of the polemic: while the USSR wants to "fortify" the unity and the separateness of the communist movement, which it views as a monolithic pyramid with the CPSU at the peak, as a movement which is predestined to play the role of the vanguard of the working class and the liberation movement, and which is inclined only to limited cooperation with other forces, the CPI is in favor of a new differentiation within the international workers movement in the sense that those parties and factions which are for a pluralistic and democratic socialism be allowed to gather in free associations, regardless of their name. This would amount to something like the definitive burial of the division of worker's parties into "reformist" and "revolutionary" which arose after the founding of the Third International and which, out of inertia, has been maintained in some places until today, in spite of the fact that the original arguments concerning the dictatorship of the proletariat and violent revolution have lost their relevance. Similar calls for a "new internationalism" can be heard from the Spanish, Japanese and other communist parties, and a number of parties in the Socialist International are carrying on discussions of this theme. This trend is as yet in an embryonic phase and, not surprisingly, is running up against many of its own conflicts, but Moscow has already let it be known that it considers this trend to be extremely heretical and therefore dangerous.

The Third Path

The most discussions are being called forth in Italy and in Western Europe by the CPI thesis of the need for a "third path" to socialism, i.e., for development which rejects the current so-called "real socialism" as well as western social democracy; the first because it is a denial of the principles of socialism, and the latter as a halt on the path to socialism at the boundaries of capitalist society, limiting itself to isolated reforms of this society. It is then understandable that socialists deny that the "third path" exists precisely in the practice of democratic socialism, i.e., reformism, which has, to be sure, as yet failed to resolve all of the problems of western society, but which still has developmental possibilities without having to use totalitarian methods. This has been the basis of exhortations to the CPI that it "renounce" Leninism and its own past, declare itself in favor of social democracy and join the Socialist International. Even though these criticisms have a certain logic to them, they are still politically naive: it is impossible, certainly, to demand that a large political party voluntarily commit suicide and declare that it had

been mistaken and that others had been correct. Italy is a country of parliamentary democracy and every party which wants to exercise a real influence must have a corresponding real strength. And this can only come from the voters, never from political theorists. This means that the CPI will continue to be a communist party even though its policies call to mind in many respects the policies of certain traditional social democratic parties in several western countries where, bear in mind, these parties are often referred to as "communizing." All of this also belongs to the pluralism which is a component of a democratic system.

Berlinguer, Cossutta, Pasti

These are some of the main thoughts of CPI documents which were published in the first months of this year (we shall return to them again in subsequent issues of LISTY with more extensive excerpts from them). Their publication brought about a polemic not only with the CPSU, but within the CPI itself. A Central Committee session, to be sure, approved the position of the CPI leadership, but one member of this leadership, Armando Cossutta, voted against it and delivered a speech in which he justified his disagreement. The basis of Cossutta's position is that he continues to view the CPSU, in spite of certain reservations, as the "main and decisive force" in the struggle for peace and socialism and therefore rejects everything which could lead to a polemic and schism between the CPI and the CPSU. Cossutta's views have been widely published in UNITA, and are being discussed at party meetings and in the party press, where the right of everyone to a different opinion is being defended, along however with a simultaneous refusal to form any factions at all or to disrupt the principles of democratic centralism. Cossutta remains a member of the CPI leadership, continues to defend his views, but at the same time emphasizes that he is subordinating himself to the wishes of the majority. At a meeting in Perugia, howevever, he admitted to a tactical plan: he will defend his dissenting opinion up until the next party congress (probably in 1983), and then request that prior to the congress there be discussions in the basic organizations of his thesis and that of the CPI leadership, so that in this way it may be "democratically" shown who actually is the "majority" and who the "minority."

Cossutta bases his argument on the view that the position of the CPI leadership came as something of a psychological shock for a portion of the members, for which they were not prepared well enough, and which therefore ran into resistance on the one hand from older dogmatists and on the other hand from a part of the party base which was accustomed to viewing policy only as a struggle of "two camps," and often judges everything from the viewpoint of defending their own material interests. It is estimated that 10-20 percent of the CPI membership does not agree with the position of the leadership, or has reservations or doubts.

The CPSU is intervening in these developments with its accustomed methods: it is supporting various groups which criticize Berlinguer and the CPI leadership for "revisionism" and declare themselves as friends of the USSR. A number of these groups have begun to publish, with Soviet assistance, smaller and larger periodicals such as, for instance, INTERSTAMPA, which appears in

runs of about 10,000 and reprints articles from PRAVDA and the Soviet and Polish press (Bilak and Jakes will certainly find here a forum and grateful readers). A similar role is also being fulfilled by the magazine of the peace movement which was founded by senator Pasti, a former Italian army general and commander of NATO mediterranean forces, who was earlier a strict anticommunist but uncovered in himself after retirement a revolutionary tendency and now criticizes CPI policy "from the left" with, however, the generous financial help of the World Peace Council and Moscow, Prague and Sofia. The Soviet embassy in Rome is very active in the search for authors of "spontaneous letters" which are written to PRAVDA by Italian "true communists" who do not agree with the policy of the leadership and who declare themselves to be "friends of the USSR" (who could forget the letter of the 99 so-called Prague residents and then the "thousands of letters" on the basis of which Soviet tanks came to our country in August 1968; for the time being, however, Berlinguer need not fear this, but he certainly expected it when in 1979 he declared that socialism may be better constructed "under NATO protection" than under that of the Warsaw Pact).

So That Tanks Not Resolve This

For the time being it would not appear that Moscow wants a schism in the CPI and the establishment of a pro-Soviet CP on the model of groups in Spain, Sweden, England and elsewhere. Attempts to date have shown the limited nature of such undertakings, and even those Italian communists who do not agree completely with the position of the leadership reject the rude polemical techniques of the CPSU leaders, meaning that party patriotism is rather siding with Berlinguer. Therefore the tactic is being applied of creating as much pressure as possible within the party for the leadership to brake its criticism of the CPSU and to force it gradually to back off from this line. This policy counts on fatigue among those members who must face criticism from the left and from the right, on a certain amount of attrition among senior functionaries, on personal conflicts within the leadership, and on provocations (in just this situation there appeared in UNITA a letter with accusations against members of the government. The letter, however, turned out to be a forgery which led to the demise of the chief editor, but also to a loss of prestige for Berlinguer, and several readers rightly asked who had "sold" this forgery to the CPI daily at such a critical time, and who had an interest in this scandal).

However, opposition had to have been expected from conservative forces within the CPI, and this is quite normal and in its own way healthy. A similar differentiation process between progressive and conservative forces will clearly be taking place as well in other western communist parties in which this polemic comes up, forcing them to adopt a position. Pavel Auersberg has already intimated to us, on the page of ZIVOT STRANY, that in addition to the CPI the Japanese communist party is on a dangerous course, but in his opinion it is quite isolated. But from whom? Perhaps from the centers in Moscow and Prague, but less from the remaining parties, judging from the discussions which are taking place in the Communist parties of Sweden, Holland, England, Spain, France, Belgium, Mexico and others.

This polemic will, clearly continue. For the time being neither Soviet tanks nor a military junta can put an end to it. And this polemic concerns, basically, making sure that this cannot happen. And that is why it is so important for us.

9276
CSO: 2400/287

ACADEMY FOR MILITARY MEDICINE ESTABLISHED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 23 No 2, Apr 82 (signed to press 25 Nov 81) pp 50-52

[Address of Army General H. Hoffmann, Minister for National Defense, at opening ceremony (date and place not provided) for the Military Medicine Academy in Bad Saarow]

[Text] With the founding of the Military Medical Academy, we are taking a necessary and important step towards the further development of the Medical Service of the GDR National People's Army (NVA), border troops and civil defense. When we bring to mind that the problems and tasks of the coming years can be solved only if we utilize the achievements of science and technology far more extensively and more courageously than we have done, and strive for even higher efficiency, then this leads to the question of how to achieve this, what steps to take. And these steps, just as the overall goal, must be on a scientific basis.

I believe one can call the founding of our Military Medical Academy such an act, an expression and a result of thorough collective deliberation and search for new answers. This act is marked by the conviction of Friedrich Engels that there can be no progress without the scientific element, without the persistent realization of ideas that have been proven to be correct.

The Military Medical Academy, which we are opening today, shall and will--I have no doubt about this--enable our comrades in the military Medical Service to assure the utmost in medical care, training and continued training of military cadres, scientific work in the service of high combat efficiency and combat readiness of the NVA, even considering the immensely growing demands caused by the revolution in the military field. With the founding of the Military Medical Academy we are creating an important tool for solving future tasks.

At the same time we are putting the finishing touch on that which has been achieved in more than 2 and 1/2 decades by the armed forces of the socialist German state. The historical achievement of our Socialist Unity Party in the establishment of national defense, of the armed forces and their medical service consists in part in the fact that the children of workers and peasants were able to climb to the heights of military medical sciences. The Medical

Service, with its doctors, dentists, pharmacists, medics and nurses, as a military medical organization is a firm part of the NVA. It has the task of guaranteeing the protection of health in the armed forces by carrying out the health policy of our party and thus makes a significant contribution to the increase of the physical and psychological health of members of our armed forces. In addition there is the preparation for meeting the demands of modern war, the care for the injured of possible battles and operations, among them those who have been exposed to nuclear and chemical weapons.

Always based on the high humanistic ideals of Marxism-Leninism and of our party policy, which centers around man, the NVA's Medical Service has fulfilled its mission to the highest degree in all these years by putting military medical theories into practice. Energy, smart ideas, a high degree of combat readiness, devotion and the courage to move ahead characterize the work of its members.

The history of the NVA Medical Service is also the history of close friendship and comradeship-in-arms with the comrades of the glorious Soviet Army and the other socialist brother armies, of productive cooperation between members of the Medical Service of the Warsaw Pact states.

What we were able to gain in the past years, especially in terms of a theoretical foundation and practical experiences, would have been unthinkable without the help and support of Soviet military doctors, without their scientific knowledge and research results, and that of the Soviet Military Service.

Soviet military doctors willingly and patiently helped build up our Military Service, taught our young military doctors the basis of medical care and helped them gain an understanding of the political and ideological position of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party, along with medical knowledge.

Perhaps it is a coincidence that we are celebrating this on 7 December 1981. But this is a historical date, because on this date exactly 30 years ago, the first officers of the Medical Service of the then garrisoned People's Police commenced their studies at the S. M. Korow Military Medical Academy in Leningrad. Since then, 120 members of the GDR armed forces have completed their studies or a graduate course at this excellent institution.

For that reason, I especially want to express my cordial gratitude today to the head of the Kirow Academy, Comrade Col Gen Prof Dr Iwanow and his colleagues for years of help.

But also thanks to your help, beloved Soviet comrades-in-arms, the Medical Service of the NVA has become a renowned and respected partner in the alliance. It has proven this more than once during the past years--during joint maneuvers and military exercises and in everyday military life, and through research in the treatment of injuries or in methods of organization in combat.

The Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University in Greifswald also greatly contributed to the good results we have achieved, which are also the result of our party's policy on higher education. More than 1,000 class-conscious military doctors have been trained at the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University's military medical section. Their high quality work in medicine, medic battalions and military hospitals contributes considerably to the combat strength of the NVA, the border troops and security organizations.

The founding of the Military Medical Academy has also been well assured by the Greifswald University. Eighty percent of its leading cadre and the Scientific Council are graduates of its military medical section. The continuous help and support of the vice chancellor and professors of the Ernst-Moritz-Arndt University are said to have furthered their development into scientists and professors.

We thank the vice chancellor, Comrade Prof Dr Birnbaum, and ask him to convey our high esteem to all his colleagues.

Of extraordinary importance for the development of the Medical Service was and is the Central State Organization's willingness to include consistently matters concerning national defense into their plans and decisions.

A cordial word of thanks therefore goes to the minister for higher education, Comrade Prof Boehme, for his continuous care and support in the training and education of the new military medical recruits.

The ever closer cooperation between the NVA Medical Service and the other areas in the health field is an expression of the high level of national defense preparedness. This is especially the personal achievement of the Minister of Health, Comrade Col (reserve) Prof Dr Mecklinger. This continuous interest in the progress of the NVA Military Service, his personal contact with the leading cadres and the firm inclusion of national defense concerns in overall health planning are reason for me to express my cordial thanks to Comrade Prof Dr Mecklinger.

An important criterium in judging the level of development in the Medical Service is the level of development of the Organization for Medical Assistance. For that reason, the military hospitals of the NVA as carriers of specialized medical care, in close cooperation with other GDR health institutions, have always received a great deal of attention. Since its founding in 1954, the NVA Central Military Hospital has developed into a renowned medical-scientific institution. Scientific work of international importance has been carried out here in addition to the daily care of patients.

Just to name a few examples: the military guidelines to the "Medical Classification and Treatment of the Injured and Sick in Combat" is the first such document within the Warsaw Pact armies.

The basis for the judgment of fitness and suitability to assure personnel strength of the NVA was further developed.

The science of the functional diagnosis of the ear and organ of equilibrium has been perfected.

New devices for the Medical Service's field medic equipment such as the field oxygen tank and the medical field laboratory, and means of individual medical protection have been developed.

For these scientific results by the comrades of the Central Military Hospital I wish to give special thanks to Comrade Lt Gen Gestewitz who, in addition to his role as scientific director and military commander, has always known how

combine the tasks of highly specialized medical care with creative, personal scientific work. He has contributed much to the fact that we can now build the Military Medical Academy on the basis of the Central Military Hospital.

Today, no serious progress can be achieved any longer in any area of the military without the expert and conscious application of science. Even in GDR national defense, science has become the most important factor and prerequisite for new essential increases in combat strength and combat readiness of our armed forces.

Tasks to be solved in the 1980's are characterized more and more by their complexity. It places higher demands on the cooperation between scientists and those in other fields. As a consequence, the time is ripe for the concentration of scientific potential of the Medical Service for the scientific application to all areas of medicine within national defense and for the achievement of high quality in all military medical work.

We are thinking here, e.g., of the continuous supply of the NVA with uniformly trained military doctors and nurses and the specialized military medical training at our universities and medical academies. The Military Medical Academy must meet this high requirement.

With the formation of the Scientific Council of the Military Medical Academy, which consists of representatives of all branches of military medicine, the concentration process of the scientific capacities within the Medical Service is to be continued. All teaching and research must be even more goal-directed and geared towards the universal medical safeguarding of the NVA during coalition acts in a possible war.

We see the essential tasks of the Military Medical Academy in three directions:

1. The continued training and education of class-conscious socialist military doctors, dentists and pharmacists who are loyally devoted to the Socialist Unity Party and to our worker and peasant state and who will have a decisive voice in the future determination of the quality and effectiveness of the Medical Service.

2. The continuously guaranteed, highly specialized medical care in accordance with the latest achievements in medical science, especially Soviet military medicine.

3. The continued scientific development of the NVA Medical Service under garrison and war conditions through the application of current and appropriate research results.

This celebration today on the eve of the GDR Health Day also wishes to express that the problems of the Medical Service within national defense can be solved only with the cooperation of all those working in the service of our state's health system.

This Day of Health which we are celebrating in the GDR in honor of the great German scientist and researcher Robert [illegible]h, shall also show that we as soldiers of the Socialist German state feel bound to the humanistic traditions

of the history of our people. Bourgeois scholars and fighters for social progress such as Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland and Rudolf Virchow are part of our tradition just as much as the doctors and comrades of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Roland Daniels, Abraham Jacobi and Louis Kugelmann and the fighters against fascism such as Maxim Zetkin, Erwin Marcusson and Georg Benjamin.

As soldiers of the socialist German state we exert every effort to fulfill the class mission given to us by the Tenth SED Congress and to guarantee a life of peace and social security to our people and brother nations.

We give our personal assurance of this to the party and state leadership of our Republic and to Comrade Erich Honecker.

May the Military Medical Academy develop into a scientific institution of higher learning which will help in the further development of the theoretical foundations of military medicine and the practice of the Medical Service.

To this end I wish much success to the head of the Military Medical Academy, Comrade Lt Gen Gestewitz, and to all his colleagues.

9328
CSO: 2300/290

OFFICIAL DUTIES OF VOLUNTARY POLICE ASSISTANTS SPECIFIED

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 16, 29 Apr 82 pp 343-345

[Official text of "Decree on the Voluntary Assistants of the German People's Police, dated 1 April 1982," effective 1 May 1982; signed by W. Stoph, chairman, GDR Council of Ministers; and Dickel, minister of the interior and chief, German People's Police]

[Text] Article 1

(1) The voluntary assistants of the German People's Police, through their readiness and active participation in ensuring public order and security, help secure the reliable protection of the workers and farmers power.

(2) Voluntary assistants are GDR citizens who gratuitously help the German People's Police actively and fulfil tasks based on this decree. Their activity is a form of the citizens' conscious and active participation in the exercise of their basic rights and duties in coshaping the reliable protection of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

Article 2

(1) GDR citizens can become voluntary assistants if they are 18 years of age, have the requisite political-moral qualifications, are ready to help the German People's Police in solving assigned tasks, and are nominated by the parties and mass organizations affiliated in the National Front of the GDR, the heads of state and economic management organs, the combines, enterprises and institutions, and the work collectives and cooperative boards, or apply for it in person.

(2) GDR citizens confirmed as voluntary assistants by the German People's Police precinct chiefs assume the obligation to support the German People's Police actively in the fulfilment of tasks.

(3) Voluntary assistants are assigned as the need arises and with regard to their knowledge and skills.

(4) Voluntary assistants are released from their duty when the German People's Police rescinds their confirmation.

Article 3

(1) Through their support activity, the voluntary assistants help promote, principally by indoctrination and educational influence, the citizens' legal consciousness and the voluntary respect for socialist legal norms.

(2) While abiding by legal regulations and the authorizations set down in this decree, voluntary assistants can take measures in extent and duration as needed for turning back dangers or eliminating disturbances on behalf of restoring public order and security.

Article 4

For the sake of a high quality and social effectiveness in ensuring public order and security, the German People's Police must support the voluntary assistants in acquiring sound political and technical knowledge and instruct them on the principles of police work as needed for their activity.

Article 5

(1) The voluntary assistants do their work to ensure public order and security under German People's Police leadership and within the scope of the authorizations assigned to them and solve tasks assigned to them independently or in cooperation with members of the German People's Police.

(2) Voluntary assistants are authorized and obligated to
(a) accept reports, suggestions and information to be conveyed to the German People's Police;
(b) introduce immediate measures to avert or eliminate dangers or disturbances threatening the life or health of people and socialist, personal and other property or impinge in other ways on public order and security;
(c) take steps against law violations, especially disorderly conduct, and instruct the citizens about orderly conduct;
(d) hand persons over to the nearest German People's Police precinct or to a member of the German People's Police, when personal data cannot be clearly ascertained in situ or their being handed over is imperative for clarifying facts of a case that seriously jeopardizes public order and security;
(e) temporarily confiscate objects the use of which endangers public order and security or which must be confiscated if only thereby public order and security can be ensured;
(f) ascertain personal data if that is imperative for enforcing further measures; and
(g) assist in the exchange of personal data if citizens credibly register civil law claims agaist other citizens.

(3) Voluntary assistants, above and beyond their authorizations as listed under section 2, if authorized by the German People's Police, also may:
(a) check house sign-out books;
(b) hold office hours for the Sector Agent;
(c) authorize the signing in and signing out of visitors on the basis of legal regulations;

(d) check the permits of persons to enter areas under special controls;
(e) check persons and matters under search and handing such persons or matters over to the nearest German People's Police precinct;
(f) provide traffic instructions based on road, street traffic authorization or sports-boat regulations;
(g) administer theoretical and practical driver's tests for granting driver's permits;
(h) administer chauffeur tests and check vehicles for granting passenger conveyance authorizations;
(i) escort large-size and heavy transports;
(j) handle traffic controls and supervisions, the checking of driver's licenses and permits, documentations on the payment of motor vehicle dues and insurance or certificates or certifications;
(k) check the qualifications of motor vehicle drivers or boat captains and the operational and traffic safety of vehicles and boats;
(l) handle the technical tests of vehicles and boats in accordance with street traffic authorizations or sports-boat regulations and enter the test data in the certifications; and
(m) handle the registration of owners and operators of vehicles and enter changes on vehicle licenses and registrations.

Article 6

In special cases, other authorizations may be assigned to the voluntary assistants by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 7

(1) Voluntary assistants get a red arm band with the imprint, "People's Police Assistant," and the emblem of the German People's Police and a personal identification card.

(2) When acting on their own responsibility, voluntary assistants have to identify themselves without being asked to do so.

(3) Voluntary assistants are under the obligation to observe silence about information and facts concerning unauthorized persons that may have resulted from their activity.

Article 8

(1) Tribute is paid in a proper way to outstanding achievements by voluntary assistants in ensuring public order and security.

(2) For special accomplishments, voluntary assistants may receive state distinctions.

Article 9

(1) While active, the voluntary assistants are under legal and insurance protection in accordance with legal regulations.

(2) Expenses incurred by the voluntary assistants in connection with their activity are reimbursed by the German People's Police.

Article 10

Implementing regulations for this decree are issued by the minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police.

Article 11

(1) This decree goes into effect on 1 May 1982.

(2) Rescinded at the same time is the 16 March 1964 decree on the authorization and activity of voluntary assistants in support of the German People's Police and the NVA border troops (GBL Part II, No 30 p 241).

5885
CSO: 2300/304

KRAKOW PARTY MEETINGS HELD

Party Plenum on Tasks

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Apr 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Stefan Cieply and Jacek Balcewicz]

[Text] (Our own information) Yesterday [27 April 1982] the plenary session of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Krakow Committee [KK] was opened and chaired by the KK secretary, and its agenda dealt with assessing the implementation of the resolutions of the 7th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee in the light of the current socio-political situation in the Krakow City Voivodship.

But while the topic itself can be considered quite obvious and ordinary. The manner in which the plenary deliberations were conducted deserves preliminary mention. They took place in an atypical and probably more efficient manner that, above all, made it possible to focus subsequent discussion specifically on the actual and realistic problems present in individual communities, labor establishments, or basic organizations. Thus, instead of opening the session with the traditional report, the representatives of various communities were given the floor. It can be stated that they reported on what was happening at their organizations, most often at the grassroots level, as well as on the socio-political situation, the moods, the atmosphere surrounding the discussion of [the Declaration] "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are," the problems encountered in introducing the economic reform--in a word, on all aspects of the current life of the various communities, labor establishments, and party organizations.

Mieczyslaw Dulski, first secretary of the PUWP plant committee at the "Kabel" Cable Plant and the Cable Machinery Factory in Krakow, declared as follows: "In theory, as one of the 104 plants serving as consultants in the introduction of the economic reform, we were very well prepared. But that theoretical preparation had to collide with the hard reality. The conditions for introducing the reform in the cable industry are extremely difficult. There is a shortage of materials, and even the operating programs do not provide the raw materials for their implementation. Four hundred persons took the path of earlier retirement, and they were mostly the best experts, while their replacements are, despite the predicted labor force surplus, not so easy to obtain....

"We do not wish to stand in a queve in front of the empty exchequer of state. We minimize prices and cost in order to maximize profits and allocate them for wages. We are exploring latent potential and initiating labor-saving measures, but we cannot accomplish everything by this means in the absence of a clear and explicit system of incentives. These days it turns out that the pay of a passive worker plus compensation payments is twice as high as the pay of a productive worker who is entitled to compensation payments for himself alone."

Barbara Machal, member of the executive board of the branch party organization at the ENERGOPRZEM [Enterprise for the Construction of Power Stations and Industry] declared: "It should be borne in mind that the human element is the most vital factor in the reform. The reform is also a reform of mental attitudes. Previously, construction placed priority on expensive technologies and material-intensiveness, while the incentive system provided no rewards for truly productive work.... The edge of the economic reform has been blunted by distancing the threat of unemployment.

In construction, the fluctuations remain maximal, and it costs my company 24,000 zlotys each time it hires or dismisses an employee. On the yearly scale, there are some 500 such hirings and dismissals."

The farmer Marian Gryc, first secretary of the POP [basic party organization] in Iwanowice, declared, "Before 13 December it was very difficult for us party members in the countryside; people reproached us for belonging to the party, and yet no one of us had grown rich from it. Somehow, we survived that period. Now our organization has grown stronger and more active. As for the ideological declaration, "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are," we believe it is written in a language that is too difficult for us to understand. Moreover, the declaration should contain guarantees that it will fulfill what it declares."

Stanislaw Korzen, secretary of the PUWP Factory Committee (KF) at the Lenin Iron and Steel Works (HiL) began his speech as follows: "At the moment the situation at the Combine has improved, which does not at all mean that everything is all right. The Refractories Plant, which employs 1,200 people, has a shortage of 400 workers, and the Coke-Chemical Plant has a shortage of 350 workers. There is nothing surprising in that people do not apply for the extremely arduous work with us, because elsewhere they can earn as much for much lighter work. The situation is such that a son can earn as much for much lighter work. The situation is such that a son can earn after 2 years of work as much as his father who has been working for 30 years.

"How can a good ideology and politics of attitude prevail at a plant when a worker is not provided with...proper footgear for his work. Recently, after considerable difficulties and efforts, we were alotted 1,000 pairs. But how can they be distributed among the combine's entire labor force? Raw materials are scarce. At the cold rolling mill we succeeded in saving one kilogram of zinc per ton of galvanized sheets, and it turned out that we can use graphite from the Nitrogen Works in Tarnow in lieu of imported graphite, and domestic lubricants in lieu of imported ones. We do what we can, but we realize that this is not enough. We receive a foreign-exchange allowance for our exports, but for the time being this allowance exists only on paper. I agree that interest must be paid on the principal [of Poland's foreign indebtedness] but the plant needs that foreign exchange in order to produce...."

Stanislaw Spolnik, first secretary of the Krakow-Podgorze PUWP District Committee, said: "Today, there is no place for intuition and nosing out in party work within a public which has become educated. Many believe themselves to be Marxists, but when it comes to formulating definitions helping in the solution of the problems that arise, it turns out that we diverge from the theses of Marxism. We no longer have the time for improvising, and in this field we have barely made a step forward." Stanislaw Spolnik concluded that it is necessary to work out a coherent system of ideological education of the aktiv, elucidate the elementary terms and concepts with which Marxism operates, and elaborate the attitude of the Krakow party echelon concerning the ideological declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are."

As a reportorial duty, let us add that during the first part of yesterday's Plenum the other speakers were: Zdzislaw Bajor, first secretary of the PUWP Gmina Committee in Tokarnia; Irena Grudzinska, teacher at Elementary School No 107; Ryszard Litworski, first secretary of the POP [basic party organization] at the Leg EC [expansion unknown]; Boleslaw Sleczek, first secretary of the PUWP Plant Committee at the KFAP [Krakow Measurement Apparatus Plant]; and Andrzej Kozanecki, first secretary of the PUWP Committee at the Jagiellonian University.

Following the intermission, the report of the Executive Board of the PZPR Krakow Committee on the current socio-political situation in Krakow Voivodship was presented by the Krakow Voivodship secretary Jan Broniek. The report is discussed separately below.

During subsequent discussions, the floor was taken by Janusz Lennik, first POP secretary of the POP at the Institute for the Formation of Environment [IKS], who, referring to the resolutions of the 9th Congress concerning the role of science and the scientific cadre in helping the nation emerge from the crisis, evaluated the condition of the party at scientific institutes as exemplified by the Kowodrze District and criticized the administrative proliferation occurring there as well as the rather dubious growth in autocratic attitudes among the management of these institutes following [the introduction of martial law on] 13 December.

In his turn, Stefan Mazur, a farmer from Wielka Wies, brought up the issue of the weakness of the economic incentives provided for agriculture. Next, Adam Wiernik, secretary of the Environmental Committee of Science, assessed the party's situation at 7 ministerial institutes, their 13 departments, and 5 research and development centers and 2 central laboratories, which taken together employ in Krakow...10,000 scientific workers and administrative workers. That community includes 1,000 party members and it is hard put to find its place in the economic reform, as it lives chiefly in the hope of receiving assignments in the nature of the so-called government program. Comrade Wiernik pointed out that the fabric of science is delicate and appealed for desisting from upsetting too violently the structures evolved in the organization of science. The last person to take party in the discussions was Henryk Nawara from WSP [probably, Wyzsza Szkola Pedagogiczna--Teachers' Training College in Krakow] who, referring to earlier comments concerning the neglect of the political education of youth, drew attention to the fact that the faculty of higher schools are at present among the lowest-paid professional groups, and this--following the principle that existence determines consciousness--affects the educational process.

The Krakow Committee adopted an appropriate resolution.

Below are excerpts from that resolution:

/The PUWP Krakow Committee approves the "Program of Activities of the PUWP Krakow Committee and Tasks of Party Echelons in the Krakow City Voivodship Following the 7th Plenum of the PUWP Central Committee," as adopted and being implemented by the Executive Board of the PUWP Krakow Committee.... The Plenum notes at the same time that the extent of implementation of the tasks continues to differ within different organizations and communities, and hence, as the resolution further states, the Executive Board of the Krakow Committee should primarily focus its attention on all economic, social, and administrative barriers obstructing the introduction of the economic reform, the implementation of the food program, the solution of the problems of educating the youth, and the party's ideological work and its participation in cadre policy..../ [printed in boldface]

/The consistent efforts of the voivodship party organization contribute to a gradual normalization of the political situation in the party and society. Being aware of the occurrence, within certain circles of society, of manifestations of anti-state and anti-party activity, we shall consistently struggle against them while at the same time persistently continuing efforts to win over the broadest circles of working people for creative collaboration in implementing the Resolution of the 9th PUWP Congress and the program, drafted on the basis of that resolution, for surmounting the social and economic crisis..../ [printed in boldface]

/The Krakow Committee at the same time conveys its cordial 1st-of-May greetings to all working people. On this holiday of the proletariat, celebrated on the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Polish worker movement, we shall meet at the rally on the Krakow Market Square to demonstrate our indomitable will to serve the socialist Fatherland and its working class./ [printed in boldface]

Lastly, the Committee approved the nomination of comrade Stanislaw Babinski to the position of director of the Administrative Department of the Krakow Committee and of docent dr habilitatus Julian Wielgosz to the position of director of the Center for Ideological Training.

The session ended with the reading of best wishes on the occasion of the First of May holiday from the PUWP Central Committee for the working world of our region and city on the occasion of the proletarian holiday, followed by the signing of the International.

Executive Board Meeting Report

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 28 Apr 82 p 2

[Text] The socio-political situation in the Krakow City Voivodship is gradually improving despite its great complexity, as stated in the presented report. As the martial-law restrictions are lifted, public organizations, societies, etc. are becoming increasingly active. At the same time, there is no shortage of negative phenomena, of activities directed against the authorities, of flyers and hostile publications inspired chiefly by the KPN [Confederation for Independent

Poland], the NZS [probably, Niezalezne Zrzeszenie Studentow--Independent Association of Students], and the extreme political elements of Solidarity. In addition, moral pressure is being exerted on the party members and independents engaging in political, public, and artistic activities.

The situation is made worse by the economic crisis and the recent price revisions. Unfortunately, owing to the drastic collapse of the economy last year, as well as this year, the Krakow industry's performance is much worse than it was a year ago. In the first quarter of this year output declined by 14 percent and labor productivity by 8 percent, while at the same time the wage fund increased 10 percent and the average wage 17 percent (and at present it amounts to 8,314 zlotys [monthly]). A gradual improvement in the situation can be perceived, though, particularly as reflected in a decrease in the gap between labor productivity and average wage. The main obstacle to the introduction of the economic reform appears to be not so much the delays in the promulgation of certain regulations and laws as the mentality of the managerial cadre and the work force, which are not accustomed to thinking in terms of profit and loss. Reform teams have been appointed in every Krakow enterprise, and the reports on the status of enterprises have in general been accurately prepared, and much was done to streamline organizational structures, but all this is only a beginning. There is an urgent need for a more rational utilization of manpower in production processes, but this is not properly reflected in practice; the decline in industrial employment has been only half as great as the decline in output. Krakow's industry is making certain accomplishments (at, among other plants, the TELPOD [Krakow Electronic Works 'production works for telecommunications subassemblies), the HiL [Lenin Iron and Steel Works], and the KFAP [Krakow Measurement Apparatus Factory]) in developing production of surrogates for imported items, but the idea of a fuller utilization of domestic raw and other materials and subassemblies still is not widespread enough. These days, cooperation with the socialist countries assists in alleviating the difficult situation of our economy.

A major factor in the reform should be the wage system of enterprises, which have complete rights to determine wages on their own and, of course, so as to provide incentives, but in reality about 60 percent of the monthly income is not directly linked with wages but is represented by compensation payments, seniority allowances, family allowances, etc. Such a situation must be changed if wages are to be an incentive for better work.

The work force is greatly interested in social services, and recently, in particular, in the vacation leaves for children and young people as well as vacations for adults. The social work commissions operating in the plants have accomplished much.

Unfortunately, the social service funds available to the enterprises have increased only slightly, and hence their proper allocation is of special importance. The role of elements of our party is also to ensure that every plant prepare a list of the most urgent social-work problems requiring solutions this year. For example, signals are coming in to the effect that in many plants safety and hygiene of labor has deteriorated.

In the countryside, it is an essential task to strengthen the party's forces and purify from its ranks persons who remain uncommitted, lack ideology, etc. In

the opinion of participants in the meetings, the mood of the countryside is particularly influenced by the absence of a stable agricultural policy which, in the opinion of farmers, manifests itself in the variability of preferences given to individual crops. Further, there are reservations about the system for rationing foodstuffs for farmers and their families as well as the revisions in the prices of crops, on the one hand, and of services to agriculture, on the other, which exist in an explicit mutual disproportion. There is a continuing shortage of feeds, fertilizers, building materials, and coal, and the new contracting principles and pricing systems are incomprehensible, bureaucratic, and intricate.

Further, the report states that the discussion of the future of trade unions in our country represents an important political campaign. Part of the work force, especially the members of Solidarity, take no official stand on this matter. It can be thought, however, that a majority of the work force stresses the need for the functioning of strong trade unions, supports trade unions organized on the sector principle, and in the discussions does not deny the leading role of the PUWP, though it debates the forms in which that role is to be fulfilled.

A major task of the party is to conduct a dialogue and cooperate with the creative intelligentsia communities within which a substantial percentage of the intelligentsia still persists in the attitude of silence, refusal, and negation. This is, of course, influenced by both the ideological diversion from the West and the propaganda of the extremist elements of Solidarity.

The state of that community requires from the party tolerance, patience, and understanding of the difficult psychical situation of many representatives of the intelligentsia who had been associated with Solidarity and to whom the introduction of martial law was a shock. However, that patience and delicacy should not be regarded as a weakness of the party, such as has even been imputed to us within certain party organizations at the institutions of higher education and artistic communities.

We must demand more of party members than of independents as regards the emergence from the crisis. In particular, we cannot accept a situation in which the party includes as members individuals who occupy conformist and opportunistic attitudes in their communities. The report states: "Whoever does not actively participate in our joint and extremely difficult effort, let him depart, because his attitude is harmfully equivocal."

A most difficult question is that of winning over and regaining for the party's policy the rising generation of Poles. In certain higher educational institutions the influence of party organizations on the directions of action of the administration has been real and positive, for example, at the Jagiellonian University, the Academy of Economics, and the AGH [Academy of Mining and Metallurgy]. Party organizations have contributed many essential comments to the final stage of the work on the decree of higher education and the Polish Academy of Sciences. On the other hand, the commitment of the teaching faculty to discussions with the youth and to explaining the current situation in this country, etc., is insufficient. These young people are under the greatest external political pressures. Hence, political support and aid is needed at present for the university branches of the SZSP [Socialist Association of

Polish Students], which should be reflected in assistance by the POP in removing barriers to the functioning of these branches at higher educational institutions due to the martial law. In secondary education, too, we must attend to the proper upbringing of youth, to influencing cadre selection. The cadres must be made aware that the authorities support the rights of scientists and creative artists to the freedom of scientific research and artistic exploration but at the same time pose political requirements as regards obligations toward the Polish state, toward people employed in the process of the education and upbringing of the youth, as well as regarding the artist's duty toward society.

Following the 7th CC Plenum there has occurred an evident revival of the activities of party echelons and organizations. A broad ideological discussion has commenced within our party. A major contribution to that discussion is the draft of the ideological-program declaration of the PUWP Central Committee, "What We Are Fighting For, What Our Goals Are." Despite critical comments, the draft of that declaration has prompted extremely widespread discussion about the party, its program, and the country--the Poland of the present and of the future. That discussion is moreover a testimony of the need for ideology, of the desire for unambiguity, of the longing to rise above the maelstrom of conflicting tendencies.

To sum up:

--It is the duty of the party to bring about a normalization of life in every field. Let us not delude ourselves in thinking this task to be simple. A substantial part of the public still remains mistrustful. This means that new obstacles shall appear on our path during the next few months. But we should not let them cause discouragement or turning aside from the line of the 9th Congress.

--It must be a continuing concern for the party to exercise its guiding role in the state so as never to bring about the tensions and crisis situations which are currently being experienced by everyone, both party members and non-party people.

--The country's emergence from the crisis is closely linked to the situation within the party. The more rapid the strengthening of the party becomes, the more boldly it must assume ties with the entire nation.

--Within our Krakow party organization an aging process is perceivable. Young people enter the party in relatively small numbers. Since we bear the responsibility for the party's future shape as well, we wish to make the rising generation the topic of our next plenary meeting.

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CSO: 2600/636

KATOWICE PARTY PLENUM REPORTAGE

Plenum Deliberations

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Sep 81 pp 1, 4

[Article by TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA reporters Aleksandra Chmura, Jerzy Bieronski and Zygmunt Dziubek: "Resolute Initiative and a Willingness to Fight Are Required of Party Members"]

[Text] The plenum of the Katowice PZPR KW [Voivoidship Committee] assessed the current situation and defined the tasks in implementing the resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

The first working plenary meeting of the PZPR KW after the last Voivodship Program-Election Conference was held in Katowice on Saturday, 5 September. The subject of the meeting was evaluation of the current political and socioeconomic situation in Katowice Voivodship after the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and definition of the tasks in disseminating the party's resolutions. The evaluation was the result of the work and consultation in hundreds of POP and DOP [basic and department party organizations] and was accurately defined at group meetings of members of voivodship echelons and delegates to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress with party activ who are members of city and city-gmina party echelons.

The following members of the Central Committee Political Bureau participated in the deliberations of the Katowice PZPR KW plenum: Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski, secretary of the Central Committee, who took part in the discussion (his speech is published on p 4 [following]); Comrade Zbigniew Messner; and Comrade Jerzy Romanik. Also present were members of city, city-gmina and plant party echelons and workers--party activists and representatives of engineering-technical, scientific and production personnel.

Comrade Andrzej Zabinski, first secretary of the PZPR KW, presented the report of the PZPR KW; which included a synthesis of the evaluations, questions and proposals submitted at Katowice's workplaces and in its cities and gminas as well as the ideas of various groups and issues commissions and the jointly developed positions of the voivodship echelons and aktiv. (The text of the report is published on p 3 [following].)

The following took part in the plenum: Comrade Marian Aksamski, KW member and director of the Siemanowice mine; Comrade Boleslaw Skotnicki, first secretary of the PZPR KM [City Committee] in Bytom; Comrade Stanislaw Horak, member of the KW Executive Board and writer; Comrade Gizela Pawlowska, Central Committee member, KW member and director of ZOZ [Health Care Teams] in Raciborcz; Comrade Grzegorz Opara, member of the CKR [Central Audit Commission], KW member and dispatcher of the DRKP [Regional Directorate of State Railroads] in Tarnowskie Gory; Comrade Jerzy Kestowicz, CKR member, KW member and specialist at the Peace Iron and Steel Works; Comrade Kazimierz Basinski, CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] member, KW member and foreman in ELEKTROMONTAZ No 1 in Katowice; Comrade Mieczyslaw Twardecki, KW alternate member and pump machinist at the Zabrze mine; Comrade Marian Dobros, KW member and first secretary of the PZPR KF [Factory Committee] of the Katowice Iron and Steel Works; Comrade Zbigniew Hanff, member of the Central Committee of the Staszic mine; Comrade Jerzy Gruba, MO [Citizens' Militia] voivodship commander in Katowice; Comrade Janusz Markowicz, KW member and director of work at the Zaglebie KBO [General Construction Combine]; Comrade Eugeniusz Latusek, KW member and first secretary of the PZPR KM in Tarnowskie Gory; Comrade Janusz Wozniak, KW member and Katowice commander of the Council of the Polish Scout Union; Comrade Andrzej Ucnorski, KW member and secretary of the PZPR KM in Gliwice; Comrade Adam Szpila, KW member and first secretary of the PZPR KZ [Plant Committee] at the Ziemowit mine; Comrade Division General Czeslaw Piotrowski, minister of mining and power industry; Comrade Leon Letkiewicz, alternate KW member and LWP [Polish People's Army] officer; Comrade Anna Musiolik, KW member and director of schools in Jastrzebie; Comrade Jan Zielinski, member of the KW Executive Board and first secretary of the PZPR KM in Sosnowiec; Comrade Tadeusz Dulik, alternate KW member and foreman at the Jowisz mine; Comrade Andrzej Ciuraszkiewicz, KW member and first secretary of the KM-G [City-Gmina Committee] in Olkusz; Comrade Jan Hajduk, KW member and head electrician at the Florian Iron and Steel Works at Swietochlowice; and Comrade Ryszard Szramek, PZPR KM secretary in Jastrzebie.

Against Anarchization of Life

The main theme of the multithreaded, critical, controversial and at the same time very constructive discussion was to prepare to advance work in all cells of and in the entire voivodship party organization in order to implement the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. The participants emphasized that the activities of individual party organizations and echelons are still not aggressive and not effective enough. Some party elements and echelons through the extensive participation of their work forces and circles already have managed to advance preparations significantly, for example, to establish worker' self-government, to implement economic reforms, to expand ideological-educational work and training and, in the very near future, to combat effectively political enemies and the anarchization of social and political life. We do not hide the fact, stated the participants, that still many organizations so far have not taken a deep interest in these matters and have not reached out to the work forces concerning the contents of the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress.

Also, among other things, there are many unsettling expectations and anticipations regarding the guidelines and too little self-initiative in undertaking decisions and effective work that are so necessary in some enterprises and circles to resolve matters and economic problems as well as people's problems and complaints. There is an urgent need for active, constructive action by party groups as well as by POPs and OOPs; by plant, city and city-gmina echelons; and by the Central and Voivodship Committees. The participants, evaluating and perceiving the trend of actions of the Political Bureau and Central Committee so clearly expressed in the resolutions of the second and third plenums of the PZPR Central Committee, pointed out the shortcomings in party work that were still numerous and generally increasing in the workplaces. Among other things, they include the dissemination of party information that is still too slow and not always complete, the unsettled accounts with people and tardy decisions, and the lack of a general concept for resolving some problems while others are mired in insignificant details.

Industry in the Face of Reform

In addition to the many problems that were viewed acutely and critically concerning the entire party and country, many exceptionally important matters were also taken up concerning the Katowice region, whose proper assumption and resolution will be of key significance for the entire national economy. In that actual context, the talk was of the necessity, under conditions of increased coal production, of the essential modernization of the old metallurgical industry, which today must be considered within the concepts of the practical implementation of economic reforms. It should constantly be remembered that the mining, power and metallurgical industries--labeled the primary branches of our Polish industry--are exceptionally exploited and highly wornout branches, with technical equipment and machinery that have been ravaged by time. In old and wornout industry--but rewarding for Poland--the living conditions for residents in the most polluted environment (and we do not hide the fact that it continues to be the least protected) cannot even for one moment disappear from the party's field of vision and activity. It would be an unforgivable error--as stated at the plenum--if these matters were not brought up, now that economic reform is being implemented and resolutions of great and even key significance for Poland's future, are being passed.

Today the principal concern of us all is to strengthen the socialist state, law and order, and also security; to protect common and private property; and to guarantee a sense of complete peace and working conditions for the residents of the nation and Katowice Voivodship. Undertaking concrete actions and initiatives in this regard is the responsibility above all of those services and echelons called upon to do so but it also lies within the jurisdiction and basic obligations of all party members and elements as emphasized in the report, documents and discussions of the Katowice PZPR KW plenum.

Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski's Address

Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski, Political Bureau member and secretary of the Central Committee, spoke at the end of the discussion about the problems and questions raised during the discussion; he also presented the main directions of party activities after the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and two working meetings of the Central Committee.

The secretary of the PZPR Central Committee strongly emphasized the need for discussion and critical evaluations of methods and results of party work and even of disputes and quarrels but within the limits designated in the interest of society and the party. The effectiveness of the activity depends not only on the good will or even the skill of the participants and all party members but above all on the difficult internal and external conditions, in the face of which we need the solidarity of the ranks and unity of actions.

The speaker highly praised the political activities of the Katowice organization and party echelons, citing as examples the "days without newspapers," to which there was no response at all, and the activity of the party organization at the Katowice Iron and Steel Works regarding the harmful actions of the factory's Solidarity union.

Today, in view of attempts to transform the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity into a movement of a political and oppositional character, the results that the party obtained in the specific settlements concerning the guiding role of the PZPR in the statute of the union before it was registered is more understandable. The speaker also warned against the disastrous consequences of demands for excessive pay increases, which would lead to inflation and a business slump; he also argued for a gradual process, for introducing work-free Saturdays, which would not deepen the economic chaos in the country. Working on 8 work-free Saturdays is a tardy acknowledgment of the rationale of our argument.

Regarding economic reforms, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee stated that autonomy and self-government of enterprises and initiative will depend initially on the party and its leadership. It is the duty of each party member to participate actively in the implementation of this initiative, even in anticipation of the Sejm's statutes. The third plenum of the Central Committee clearly defined the obligations of party organizations and echelons in creating conditions for activities of workers' self-government in workplaces.

In indicating the most important methods of political work, the speaker turned his attention to the need for resoluteness in counteracting antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces. Arguing the point that the extremists in Solidarity also require extreme responses, he agreed that to some extent one gives rise to and nourishes the other. Nevertheless, he stated with complete resoluteness that the party, as the guiding power of a socialist state, must create conditions for concentrating the strength of the entire society in a common front of reason in order to evoke and release the self-preservation instincts of Poles. He ascertained the need to explain

patiently the reasons for the conflicts and the need to discount the politically inestimable pressure for confrontation by some Solidarity activists, especially those under the banners of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland], and their goals to anarchicize life in Poland and to demolish the authority of the state. The party must warn against the consequences of brandishing the argument of confrontation; we must tell the crazies that enough is enough.

Of course, the vast majority of people are interested in peace and a feeling of security; they certainly will help to neutralize the politicizers and adventurers, and they support the efforts of the party and government aiming to lead the country out of the critical situation. In concern of their own security and the much desired law and order, the people are joining with the forces of reason and constructive action, all the more, in that the fascination with Solidarity is dissolving because of the irresponsibility of some leaders leading this worker movement in a mass on the path of conflict with authority and of attacks on the party and socialist state. The last press conference of this union--transmitted via TV--proves, as properly observed during the conference, that the leaders of this union are not concerned with the interests of the working class. The ease and unconcern with which this movement is willing to strike sow unrest, increase ill will and cause Solidarity's actions to evoke animosity in Poland as well as in the rest of the world. The world fears the consequences of the actions of the counterrevolutionary forces in Poland, it does not understand the insane weakening of statehood for which generations of Poles fought.

Speaking about economic affairs and government actions initiated in this sphere in the Katowice Voivodship, Comrade K. Barcikowski emphasized the need for comprehensive action to break the cursed circle in which our economy finds itself. The solution is to stop the decline in coal production, a problem that also was discussed extensively by the participants in the KW plenum. The speaker argued for the need to increase the prices of coal and energy so that they reflect the increased costs of mining and induce users of this valuable raw material to use it more rationally. Regarding the fate of the old metallurgical plants, which may become unprofitable as a result of the reform, there is--in the speaker's opinion--no cause for alarm because these fields, like other raw material branches, will be encompassed by a state protector.

The ways out of the crisis were delineated in the government program for the next 2 to 3 years. To realize this program, it is necessary to concentrate our efforts. Comrade Barcikowski asserted that we have the means to do so. Poland has not lost any of the wealth of its lands, the national wealth has not decreased, the cadre potential has been reinforced with successive classes of young people, and a change in the difficult payments situation also lies in the range of possibilities. Only Poland's enemies can say that there is another road for us other than that of hard work to stop the fall in production, to produce a larger number of goods for the domestic market and export and to make arrangements for food and fuel needed to carry us through next winter.

To create a climate for such hard work, including rebuilding the technical-economic cadre and engineering positions, is the top-priority task not only for party members but also for trade union associations and all those who have the good of the country at heart.

Andrzej Zabinski's Speech

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Sep 81, pp 3, 4

[Speech by Andrzej Zabinski, first secretary of the Katowice Voivodship KW to a plenary meeting of the KW]

[Text] The report of the Executive Board of the Katowice PZPR KW as delivered by Comrade Andrzej Zabinski, KW first secretary]

Dear comrades, almost 2 months after the Ninth Party Congress we are meeting at the Second Plenary Meeting of the KW.

The Third Plenum of the Central Committee, at which our party's positions on workers' self-government and economic reform were defined, ended 2 days ago.

Since the deliberations ended at the Voivodship Program-Election Conference and the Ninth Party Congress, we have devoted our time to hard party work, whose main purpose was to discuss thoroughly the political contents of the congress resolutions in the party echelons and organizations and to establish a dialog with the greatest possible number of members of the lines of activity of the voivodship party organization. It was not a time of rest as it might appear on the surface but rather a time for constructing a program to strengthen the party internally, to discharge its leading role in the state and its guiding role in society and to provide inspiration to overcome the deep crisis enveloping all areas of national life.

During the precongress campaign and during the congress itself, we realized above all the principles of intraparty democracy that were jointly developed and approved by all, which in practice denoted inspiration and participation in extensive discussions with the party aktiv on the current situation in the country and voivodship, listening to their opinions and comments, furnishing indispensable explanations and information aimed at establishing a common appraisal of the state in which our community finds itself.

Observing the principles of democratic procedures and rules of extensive consultations is time-consuming but necessary and extremely important if we do not wish to repeat mistakes resulting from decisions that were volitional or too hasty. The times are grave and dramatic and impose a heavy burden of responsibility on everyone for the fate of our fatherland. During the past 2 months we have attempted to explain exactly these basic truths to one another. I am thoroughly convinced that it was worthwhile to make this tremendous effort to shape our knowledge and it is necessary to continue to do so.

That is why the KW Executive Board sent a letter to each plenum member about considering the directions and methods of joint actions in the party collective. We make decisions collectively and bear responsibility for them jointly.

The resolutions of the Ninth PZPR Congress as well as those of the Second and Third Plenums of the Central Committee present us with concrete tasks. This means that today greater resistance to the attacks and pressures of our political enemies is required of party members. Ambiguous attitudes are not acceptable. They render us powerless in activity and surrender the field of advocates of a hostile ideology.

We Proclaim Cooperation with Solidarity But on the Principles Contained in the Understandings Signed over a Year Ago

In the jungle events that occur day after day--and these days much is happening--one could have gotten lost at times. One can also go astray or temporarily succumb to the demagogy of the opponents of socialism. We can forgive ourselves for that. However, we cannot acquiesce to having some party members in our ranks who have viewpoints from politically foreign sources and are acutely alive in some ruling circles of Solidarity. We favor cooperation with that union organization but on the principles contained in the understandings signed over a year ago. Concerning talks, we are waiting for an initiative because we have presented such propositions many times. The party organization has the right and obligation to count on their members to work in trade unions. It is required that they work there in accordance with the statute of the PZPR and the goals of a union movement in a country building socialism.

In the interest of the party as a whole, we require party members to comply unreservedly with the principles of democratic centralism. Above all this means the consistent implementation of decisions made and resolutions passed by the democratically elected Central Committee and its Political Bureau as well as by the PZPR KW and its Executive Board.

Dear comrades, in the period that has passed since the Voivodship Program-Election Conference and the Ninth Party Congress, our political opponents have not given our people's government even a moment of rest. The political battle is intensifying, the attacks on the party and state authorities have increased, anti-Soviet propaganda aimed at our alliance grows stronger, and centers on conflict and tensions are multiplying. Showy, controversial displays persist; a cascade of words pours forth. At the same time disoriented groups of unionists were led into the streets; marches of "hungry" people--people who still do not know what actual hunger is, hunger that fells thousands of deadly exhausted people--were arranged.

Extremists from Solidarity with complete determination implemented the concept of impairing the political effects of the Ninth Congress by increasing economic chaos, aggravating the difficult living conditions and organizing protest actions that prostrated the economy. At the same time, propaganda specialists in the extremist groups of Solidarity continue to try to persuade

the masses that the government can do everything but wants to do nothing, or that it can do nothing to improve the situation because it is powerless and in decline.

At first glance one often does not see the intrinsic, absurd inconsistency of such thinking, just as in the hubbub of propaganda not everyone can perceive immediately the simple falsehood that treats the state at one time as an organ equipped with the miraculous attributes of an all-powerful authority and at another time as a collapsing structure that could be strengthened only by "strong" people from Solidarity, KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] or KPN [Confederation for Independent Poland].

This perfidious game is based on constantly demanding more; simply put, the state must give everything: deliver goods, heat one on cold days. If something is not obtainable in the existing situation, the impotence of the state, the exhaustion of socialism and the decay of our political ideas are proclaimed. Thus the simple conclusion is that it is necessary to take over the government. Those who want to rule promise everything--for example, we will be another Japan although we will not work as hard as the Japanese.

We cannot agree with this, we can no longer remain uncritically silent. If in place of the falsehood about "another Poland," another falsehood about "another Japan" is advocated, then the question must be asked, Where are these fortunate countries located? We must unmask those who build castles in the air and create a vision based on pure delusions. We must unmask those who make believe that we are so superb, important and essential to Europe and the world.

They do not notice that we are creating more anxiety, that we are causing fear, that we are destablizing the European political order and--I am sorry to say--that our begging hand is stretching farther and wider and, of course, the hypocritical friends in the West do not give easily while a true friend often deprives himself.

We Will Never Forget the Sacrifices of Lives and Spilled Blood of Soviet Soldiers

Let us unravel these hostile propaganda mechanisms in Solidarity's activities, as done by Stefan Kisielewski, the liberal Catholic publicist, who called the disdainful promise of wonders and the false assurances concerning an easy and short path to the promised land the upside-down "propaganda of success." If we look carefully at our political adversaries' cards we will see a hodgepodge of cohesionless political views parented by all possible kinds of doctrines and utopias--anarchosyndicalism, Pilsudskiism, Christian democratism, utopian socialism and bourgeois doctrines all bound together by a nationalistic, anticommunist and anti-Soviet ideology. Here is an example: "Let Poland be Poland" proclaim the colorful posters, but the slogan in itself means nothing, of course. Poland must be defined adjectively--socialist or not extracting itself from the crisis or not, sinking in it or straightening out, uninhabited demagogy, full of contradictions separating ourselves from friends, or the support and help found among them.

Poland must exist with someone shoulder to shoulder if it wants to be independent and self-sufficient in the boundaries between the Odra and Bug Rivers. Polish communists remember this and will never forget to defend the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jasztrzebie agreements against the interpretation that aims to transform the trade union into an opposing political party, to dismantle the state's socialist structures, economic as well as socio-political.

In our voivodship we are especially sensitive to the lessons of history. Now, in September, in the month of national remembrance, these words have special meaning. The first shots of World War II were fired here, burying in the ruins the hopes of Poland's bourgeoisie on Western allies and help in the most tragic days of the Polish nation. And let us never forget that we returned to the Odra and Nysa Rivers by the side of the Red Army. We will never forget the sacrifices of lives and spilled blood by the Soviet soldiers, which sealed our new, rightful and secure boundaries, our peaceful life over the past 36 years.

If we lived through 36 years of peace in Europe, I do not hesitate to state that it is because of the exclusive contribution of the consistently peaceful policy of our socialist camp, most of all the position and strength of the Soviet Union, and in the complete cooperation of the socialist countries of which Poland is and will remain a strong element.

Comrades, today we must ponder and agree where in our territory we should thwart the implementation of the insane strategy for national catastrophe that the enemy inflicts on us. Much in national life depends on our work. We say this not in the false pride that is all too often expressed here but in the belief in our responsibility regarding the country's hopes for coal and steel and on the results of our work. Meanwhile tensions brought about by protest actions and warning strikes--like the one of 7 August, which significantly paralyzed the voivodship's economy, exposing the real political intentions of the enemies of socialism--interfere with the proper functioning of the industrial organism.

The voivodship party organization, on the basis of the pronouncement of the Executive Board KW, came out decisively against the strike, accusing Solidarity's Regional Administration of activity harmful to the real interests of the working class and harmful to Poland. The resolution of the Voivodship KKP [Party Control Commission] did not leave a shadow of doubt concerning participation of party members in political strikes. The Solidarity union at the Katowice Iron and Steel Works met with a similar reaction when it called for social conflict, publishing antiparty and anti Soviet texts in the union bulletin and thus evidently striking a blow to basic national interests. The steel mill's party organization, industrial trade unionists and youth organizations positively resisted these hostile actions of Solidarity extremists. Regarding the Silesian-Zaglebie directors, who were often brutally pressured by Solidarity activists, the escalating social pressure and even the physical imprisonment--unprecedented in the annals of the mining industry--of workers by union extremists--those knights of freedom, equality and respect for individual human rights--the unequivocal stand of the premier

at a recent meeting is appreciated. The directors, in their replies broadcast on TV, displayed personal courage and determination and unequivocally called for economic order in the enterprise, for cooperation in the name of improving production results and for execution of accepted obligations.

This is the industrial tradition of this land developed in a tough battle with nature that is hostile to man, with coal, metal and fire. It is a tradition of authentic worker solidarity, of work done in peace and mutual respect. It is foreign to deliberative anarchy, quarrelsome and idel talk. We had no time for it; we had to work hard for a piece of bread and the right to speak in Polish, the right to formulate a worker, socialist program. We paid dearly for it, battling hundreds of years with things German and foreign capital for the right to live in a Polish, peaceful home, and we value it highly.

Among other things, this is the significance of party committee and POP meetings. This is attested to by the reply given recently by industrial branch trade unionists--printers--to those who wanted to deprive us of daily news. The escalation of strike demands from "a week without newspapers" to radio and TV strikes is a phenomenon that politically and socially is exceptionally dangerous. Of course, the extremists in Solidarity do not hesitate to break the lines of communication, deciding the cohesiveness of modern society, especially now in a crisis phase. They want to deprive the party of its voice and allow only themselves this right.

The slogan "days without press," radio and TV also brings forward historical reflections. In the most dramatic periods of our past, the struggle of patriots was always accompanied by the printed word urging them to persevere in loyalty to Poland. The soldiers liberating our land from Nazi occupation had with them, in addition to bullets meant for the Polish enemy, publications accepted by the population with tears and emotions and respected equally with bread. While the artillery still thundered and the front proceeded not far from Katowice, the first newspapers, snatched up eagerly by the residents, were being distributed from the local presses.

The people themselves struck back at the provocative action of "days without press" by buying out increased printings of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, DZIENNIK ZACHODNI and WIECZOR. This is a concrete, measurable proof of the polarization of viewpoints and positions, of the perceptible effects of agitation and explanatory actions carried out by our party echelons and organizations.

Let Us Do Everything Such That the Activities of Each Party Element Are Characterized by a Militant Posture and Unequivocal Involvement

These activities, however, should not shield us from failures in party propaganda work. Above all, information should be improved considerably. Agitation, visual propaganda and the activities of plant mass media should become part of life. More initiative and willingness to fight are needed. Also, the activities of the KW are not aggressive enough in the technical and substantive sense. We must do everything so that the ideological-

educational activities of each party element are characterized by a militant posture and unequivocal involvement.

This also applies to the activities of the press, radio and TV, especially party newspapers. We value highly the stand of many journalists absorbed in difficult moments. However, we cannot close our eyes to attempts to edit newspapers and periodicals as well as radio and TV programs according to the private concepts of some journalists. That is why we are evaluating the work of individual editing, which will help us to draw our own conclusions.

We understand that among journalists the memories of erroenous methods of directing the mass information media are still alive. The infamous "propaganda of success" model also caused no small amount of harm to the press, radio, TV and journalists themselves. Of course, these errors are not merely the result of bad direction by the party on the mass information media but also the result of opportunism of reporters themselves. Thus today we emphasize all the more the right to present in the mass media the whole truth about our problems and activities, of course, from an obligatory socialist position.

To be sure, the press, radio and TV, criticized from various sides and for various reasons, began in the last few weeks to shed light more comprehensively on the changes occurring in Poland, interpreting the facts truthfully. Actually this democratic right of party journalists to express their own views in party newspapers was questioned. The leaders of Solidarity, on radio and TV, supposedly in the name of greater access to radio and TV, are planning subsequent strike actions. They are of a distinctly political nature. Party members are not allowed to participate in them in any way whatsoever. But we do expect decisive, aggressive action from them. They must conform completely to the decisions of the government taken in this matter.

Comrades, we do not change our viewpoints day to day and we do not pretend that there is no clear front of political struggle. We expressed this in the already mentioned pronouncement of the KW Executive Board regarding the political nature of the September strike and responsibility for its organization. Today we are not talking about victory but we are aware that the processes of party consolidation are intensifying and that party echelons and organizations in many areas are counteracting demagogy and anarchy more decisively and boldly. The contents of our letter were received approvingly and many resolutions were passed supporting the position of the Executive Board in its entirety.

Our political potential is great and increasing continually. This is the result of internal changes in the party, the renewal of its leadership elected independently and democratically. The composition of party echelons is being increasingly strengthened and operating more and more effectively, building a foundation for trust and influence. In our activities explaining our goals, the program for social stabilization and the regeneration of internal relations, we are solidifying and becoming increasingly stronger.

The people decide everything concerning their successes and defeats and thus we wish to be active on the extensive consultative teams to prop up our activity in the Issues Commissions, in which members of voivodship echelons, delegates to the KW, party activists and specialists in many areas will participate. A large economic and administrative aktiv group with full responsibility and as a matter of principle is implementing party policy. We must assure these people a sense of certitude and security, conditioning resoluteness in activity.

The time is approaching when everyone must be definite and reply clearly; in these times there is no place for "seasonal," undecided and two-faced people. All our political and organizational activities should be subordinated to developing effective principles of strategy and tactics for a political struggle based on discerning knowledge of the political geography of one's region, on an accurate and credible analysis of the reality in which we live and work. This situation also requires intensive activity in the ideological sphere, that is, in upbringing, culture and education.

We see a negative phenomenon in the weakening of the social patronage by trade unions and workplaces over culture and art, cutting off the working class from the theater, music, film, books and the applied arts because of the passive attitude of some creative and cultural groups and also of the mass information media. In this situation, party organizations working in the sphere of culture and education should intensify ideological-educational work among their members in order to stop ultimately the wave of criticism of the past that produces nothing constructive and to proceed to activities with thoughts about tomorrow. A fundamental evaluation should be made of the attitudes of party artists, culture activists and scientists, especially those in university faculties of arts, in order to draw just conclusions relative to those who departed from ideological principles. From our side, let us do everything so that art and culture find a deserving place in social life.

A Social Contract Is Realistic When It is Incorporated into Life on the Firm Ground of Socialist Political Principles

A social contract is realistic when it is incorporated into life on the firm ground of socialist political principles, complying with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. All concessions in the political and ideological sphere must be resisted resolutely by communists if they do not want the party to forfeit its leading role in society, which in consequence would impair the basis of a socialist political system.

The science of Marxism-Leninism, the many years of experience of the communist and workers party, acquired in difficult and at times in bloody class struggles, unequivocally confirm the Leninist thesis that all concessions to a political adversary, in the final analysis, must degenerate into an act of capitulation in accordance with the law of dialectics concerning the transition from quantity to quality.

In characterizing the ideological struggle, Vladimir Lenin forcefully emphasized that it comes in many forms and hues; in addition the enemy's tactics do not always or immediately have to be based on openly questioning socialism or the leading role of the party. Many times an enemy does this under the cover of clever demagogy, offering various supposedly optimum solutions guaranteeing pure democracy.

Independent of the campaigns unleashed by the enemy--domestic and foreign sources of propaganda, that were of unheard of and unparalleled in our postwar history, campaigns the intensities of which even exceeded the activities of the opposition forces under the banner of Mikolajczyk's PSL [Polish Peasant Party] in the immediate period after the war--most people favor the socialist form of government in our country, perceiving--despite the errors committed in the last few years--the undeniable achievements of People's Poland, linking their own prospects with Poland's continuous socialist development.

However, all attempts to lead Poland out of the deep sociopolitical crisis, including basic reforms, were resolutely resisted by our enemies. Such was the fate of the government's proposals regarding the resolutions of especially difficult problems. The opportunity to improve supplies to the people in the face of this year's favorable harvests and thus the overall situation of the country disturbed our adversaries so much that they went on a general offensive consistently aimed at delaying and torpedoing the stabilization of economic and social life.

The events of the last few days leave no doubt about this problem. Thus it is necessary to apply ourselves with complete consistency to organizational work in order to supply best the people of our region with basic articles for the winter. This is a strictly political problem that our voivodship party organization cannot pass over with indifference. Each party organization and echelon should not delay submitting an analysis of the status of preparations for winter in their areas.

The Observance of Law and Order by All Citizens Is an Indispensable Condition for the Functioning of the State and Socialist Social Relations

The observance of law and order by all citizens is an indispensable condition for the functioning of the state and socialist social relations. To a great extent this depends on the state of the people's awareness of the law and the activities of the organs called upon to protect legal order. In the period just passed, a number of negative phenomena occurred in the functioning of the law, symptoms of the breakdown of social discipline in various structures of public life. Because of the current destabilization of economic life and constant sociopolitical pressures, asocial elements have a medium for themselves and perceived an immunity that was more extensive than ever before. It is in these circles that the main criminal factors arise and expand: alcoholism and abhorrence to socially useful work.

The attacks on the organs of public order that are repeated in various leaflets, publications and telexes, and the creation of an atmosphere of mistrust

and even enmity toward functionaries of the MO [Citizens' Militia] draw a special response especially from those who live outside the law and whom law and order prevent them from achieving their own goals.

A priority task in restoring order and security for the citizen is to stimulate social trust and support for the just actions of organs of public order. In a normal society no one can be above the law. An equally important task is to activate and improve the activities of all organs of the state administration; department administrators of institutions and enterprises; and organs of internal and social control to pursue properly and implement consistently their legal obligations in the sphere of widely understood law and order. Lately some of these organs and institutions seem to have forgotten their obligations or thought that the militia and public prosecutor would do everything for them. Such a perception especially applies to parasites and to people abusing alcohol, to securing and protecting public property at workplaces and to work discipline.

Against the background of the healthy trend to democratize life, which is accented by the party, many circles and people hostile to us--who are especially anxious to harm the Polish nation, have come out of hiding. Their activities support external enemies. Both parties use all possible means to introduce chaos and anarchy, to intensify the public's factiousness or to destabilize the law and public in order to undertake various destructive activities relative to administrative and government organs, the public prosecutor, the militia and security services.

One of their activities is to compose false reports and to formulate untruthful accusations concerning administrative cadres to keep them in a state of uncertainty and to draw attention from fulfilling production tasks. A frequently used method is to accuse publicly MO and SB [Security Service] organs of illegal activities based allegedly on persecuting and unwarrantedly repressing people for their convictions.

To restore the public's full trust in the just and necessary activities of organs of prosecution, party organizations and the mass media should play an important role. Their role should be based on creating a wide and unified social front to counteract all violations of the law as well as other negative social phenomena that threaten the interests of the state and its citizens.

At the Third Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee much attention was devoted to workers' self-government. The full account of the plenary session, comrades, can be found in the press. Implementing the self-government draft announced by Solidarity would mean the rapid dismantling of the national economy in the sphere of management and removing the public as an entity affecting the determination of goals and methods of management. This in turn will lead to the socialist state losing influence over the economy and the realization of social goals.

The Means of Production Are and Will Remain the Property of the Entire Nation in Accordance with the Principles of Socialism and the Polish Constitution

In accordance with the constitution of the Polish People's Republic, the national wealth and thus the production assets of state enterprises are the property of the entire nation. This is one of the most important political principles. To impair it is to impair the socialist system of our state. Solidarity's view that the only owners and disposers of an enterprise's wealth is the workforce, is not acceptable. According to this, then, the workforce would perform the same role as a capitalist owner or a board of directors of a corporation. And the management goal would be the same--only profits.

The misunderstanding results from the fact that even in ordinary, everyday discussions, it is always assumed that a socialist economy should satisfy as fully as possible the commonly understood social needs--and thus, not only to supply market goods according to a person's financial means and interests but also to supply services in such extensive areas as health care, education, culture and the like. It is actually these areas that assure an equal start in life for all citizens, independent of their social and material positions.

A very important problem is the one concerning responsibility for the operating results of an enterprise. According to Solidarity's draft, an enterprise's self-government is the exclusive decisionmaker. The self-government--actually the council--makes decisions and is responsible only to the workforce. The question then arises, Who must bear the consequences of an enterprise's bad management or insolvency, for example, as a result of bad market conditions? The draft states that the workforce should bear the full effects. But what will happen if the enterprise must be liquidated? In such a case, will the state and thus the whole of society have to bear the cost of bankruptcy, to find new jobs for the workforce of the liquidated enterprise? Who will provide the additional outlays to purchase new assets and pay off debts? What guarantee is there that the problem will not reoccur? There are many such questions.

A problem that in discussions to date has aroused much passion and whose resolution had, it appears, a material effect on the shape of the draft resolution regarding the so-called social enterprises, is the rules for appointing a director. The question arises: Should a director represent the workers' self-government and execute its resolutions or should he also represent the interests of the entire nation? Can Solidarity's proposition assure automatic concordance of the interests of the enterprise's workforce with the social goals of the nation as a whole? Can this concordance be protected only by the tax and credit policies implemented by the state? Will an enterprise's workforce always strive to use an enterprise's assets in accordance with the interests and hierarchy of overall social goals? These and other questions raise many doubts.

Without questioning the right to consult the self-government of a workforce regarding the candidacy of a director, allowing for the possibility of

competition to occur, the right to confirm a director for a given enterprise or institution is a fundamental problem for our party. No governing party can waste cadre initiative or forfeit its own authority in this area because in practice it would mean the surrender of power. Of course, the present system must be perfected, and the resolutions of the Third Plenum of the Central Committee address this.

In adopting a position on the draft resolution regarding the so-called social enterprise, one should consider the conditions and experiences under which it was prepared. Work on it was guided by the goal to assure true self-government for a workforce. This draft also includes a number of effective resolutions such as increasing a council's tenure to 4 years, protecting the jobs of council members after they complete their tenure and the like.

However, the party should resolutely oppose transforming the socialist system, which is based on national ownership, to an anarchosyndicalistic economic system based on group ownership, which was proposed by Solidarity. The fundamental difference between the government's and Solidarity's drafts is ownership of production assets. This problem must be considered from the viewpoint of the social interests of all the people and the political system of People's Poland and not the self-government of an enterprise.

We must chose: Do we want a socialist state realizing all social goals in the name of man and his comprehensive development as the highest value in our society, or do we want a loose federation of groups of producers realizing their own goals, which are not always concurrent with national interests? There is but one answer to this question: The means of production are and will remain the property of the entire nation in accordance with the scientific principles of socialism and our own constitution. It was in this spirit that the Third Plenum of the Central Committee made its reply.

We live in the most industrialized voivodship of the 49 in the country. Above all, we extract coal here, and many other products are produced here without which the national economy could not function. Every disturbance or diminution of the operating rhythm of the economic mechanism in our region is keenly felt by the entire country, not only by industry but by the people also.

Work Is the Only Solution to the Dramatic Economic Situation

The party is not called upon to supercede the administration of the state and economy administration in its functions, in activities designed to overcome the economic crisis, but in the present situation, regardless of all the political tasks and because of the exceptional situation, the party must apply itself with the greatest concern to improving the sick economy.

This means supporting with all our might initiatives and aspirations for more effective work, for making better use of work time. At the same time it also means counteracting resolutely all those who treat work as a subject of bargaining with the administration, forgetting that the worsening economic situation means increasingly difficult market supply problems. He who states

that exhortation of work is an "old song" and "we will not be duped by it" either acts out of ill will or understands nothing and expresses his ignorance of the realities of socioeconomic life. Of course, there is no other solution to the dramatic economic situation except work. The problem is now to organize it so that it will give society the most needed products.

All of Poland is looking at Katowice Voivodship, waiting for more coal. It is our most important test. Meanwhile, the production of 164 million tons of coal this year, as projected by the Ministry of Mining, will not meet needs. The electric power industry will feel the shortages most severely; the shortages of electric power can immobilize industrial plants and disrupt residential heat supplies.

How can this impasse be resolved? Will work on 8 work-free Saturdays do it? This slogan put forward by Solidarity raises the question, Why was this done only now, irrevocably wasting effects that could have been achieved during the last 8 months? Although it is obvious, we support this slogan. The subject of Saturday work, of course, appeared in January. The government took a position. Also, in a letter addressed to the people, the KW Executive Board justified our reasons, which were resolved in short order to the thesis that we will not take the holidays in view of the country's catastrophic economic situation.

In this letter we also drew attention to the great harm of all strikes and the irresponsible work stoppages initiated by Solidarity, frequently for trivial reasons. That was in January; now in September we feel the effects of the destructive activities that are now disrupting the economy and are very painful, especially where it concerns supplying the market with energy and raw materials. We incurred losses that cannot be made up, and, of course, it could have been otherwise if reason and logic prevailed in January. But could it be that someone was actually anxious to ruin Polish exports of coal? It permitted renewed activation of Western European mining, which in past years was markedly limited, unprofitable mining.

Today, in view of the drastic reduction and in some cases the elimination of Polish coal exports, coal mines in the Ruhr Basin in the FRG, in Northern France and in Belgium that have been inactive for a long time are being activated and coal production is increasing in England and the United States. Is it difficult to believe that the concurrence of these events was by chance? One can only regret that the boom in the capitalist countries in such a vital sector as the coal industry came about at our expense.

For conditions to improve in Poland, the mining industry must operate more efficiently. And significantly better living and working conditions should be created in this industry, for people employed in it. It is not enough to pay better wages; more food and all that is necessary for an equitable life should be supplied by the entire country for Katowice Voivodship, for the miners and their families, for all the hard-working people of this region. It is good that this fact is beginning to be understood in all of Poland. Now this understanding should be translated into action more effectively or, to put it simply, greater food supplies.

Overcoming the shortage of fuels and energy, an elementary condition for stabilizing Poland's economy, can be accomplished by increasing coal production as well as by using it more rationally. It will be necessary to take extensive action without delay and at top priority in the area of modernizing power equipment and creating conditions promoting economical management.

The continually increasing crisis trends in our economy are attested to by the production results of the first 7 months of this year. Compared with the analagous period last year, in our voivodship sales of industrial products decreased by 46 billion zlotys, or 15 percent; production of raw steel, 744,300 tons; production of rolling-mill products, 551,000 tons; the transport of cargo by the DOKP [District Directorate of State Railways], 21.7 percent; and export value, 2.1 billion foreign exchange zlotys, including 1.4 billion foreign exchange zlotys to the II payments area. The incurred deficits cannot be made up. The drop in production was accompanied by an increase in average wages, which in comparison with the 7 months of last year increased, for example, in industrial enterprises by 24 percent; construction, 25 percent; and transportation, 22 percent.

Likewise, financial results are unquestionably the worst in the annals of People's Poland. In the voivodship 450 industrial enterprises incurred losses of almost 54 billion zlotys, including 40 billion zlotys in mining and over 10 billion zlotys in the metallurgical industry. Losses were also incurred by the machinery and chemical industries.

Such is the state of our industry, a seriously sick state. Making it healthy again depends on energetic and effective actions in the direction of stopping further declines in industrial production, which will lead to correct relationships between work productivity and wage increases, restoring production-technological discipline and work discipline and strengthening the authority of management cadres at all levels. The realization of these tasks is an essential condition for persevering through the fall-winter period and also for creating the foundation for successfully introducing economic reforms.

I have presented the main problems of the political and socioeconomic situation in our voivodship. In outlining the current tasks against the background of this situation, I address the KW to formulate its view and position relative to actions that we are now taking and wish to take in the future. Above all the goal is to strengthen the party organizationally and ideologically, to qualify all party echelons and organizations and also each party member regarding the specific situation in which they find themselves at their workplaces and in their circles.

It is the obligation of party echelons and organizations to develop a decisive ideological-political offensive and for all party members to report at least twice yearly on the realization of the tasks given them resulting from the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and the plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Of special importance are party actions designed to strengthen the ideological unity of the socialist state party, to assure

peace, law and public order as well as stabilization of the economy, which was discussed extensively in the report.

The tasks facing the party's voivodship organization are very difficult. Their realization requires great ideological fortitude and perseverance. But there is no other way to overcome the difficulty and to build an effective dam against the political activities of adversaries attempting to push Poland off the road to socialist development and the consistent realization of our party's program.

I am convinced that today's plenary meeting will represent an important contribution to the creation of a constructive party program of action. But the problems presented in the report of the KW Executive Board and the announced proposals do not completely exhaust today's difficult and complicated problems, which will be considered and creatively enlarged upon during the discussion.

Party Plenum Resolution

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 7 Sep 81 pp 1, 4

[Article: "Resolution of the PZPR KW Plenum"]

[Text] The activities of the voivodship party organization after the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress were evaluated at the PZPR plenum in Katowice. We declare that our party, in drawing conclusions consistently and truthfully from the past and selecting people for its leadership who have the greatest prestige in their circles, earns the respect of the people. Consolidating the party ranks and strengthening the unity of the party is occurring under exceptionally difficult conditions. The strong position of a reborn, purified party is causing a strong reaction among its political enemies. In defiance of logic and common sense, the more consistently we strive to surmount socioeconomic difficulties and pressure and to overcome the crisis, the greater the fury of their attacks on the party.

The primary task of each party organization and each PZPR member is to join efforts in the battle against the enemies of socialism, who no longer even care about keeping up appearances and deceptive demogogy. It is not words but actions that must be the basis for evaluating the open or hidden enemies of the party that hide behind the workers' shoulders in a union organization such as Solidarity was supposed to be and should be.

In this situation we oblige party members who are active in Solidarity to go to battle for the worker and to influence Solidarity's actions so that they are constructive and not destructive in the Katowice Voivodship.

At the Katowice PZPR KW plenum the socioeconomic and political situation in the voivodship was evaluated.

The situation is characterized by:

--An increase in social tensions and people's dissatisfaction with the worsening condition of our economy and the tensions aggravated purposely by extremist groups in Solidarity, whose goal is to discredit the people's leaders, socialism and the guiding role of the party;

--Market difficulties that recently have become more severe, especially in the key area of supplies of meat, bread and cleaning products;

--The worsening economic results in practically all sectors of the economy.

In association with this, we believe that it is necessary to state the following: All party and government initiatives to increase coal production and industrial production, which are in the interest of working people, were not actually understood and supported by Solidarity's ruling circles. Despite this we must work patiently and doggedly to overcome the crisis, to stop the process of destroying the economy and to stop the dismantling of the structure of the people's government.

However, we express full support for any initiative that would lend itself to improving the people's living conditions.

It is the obligation of all party members wherever they are to create conditions to overcome the crisis. There is no more important matter today than to rebuild the economy on healthy foundations based on the economic reforms. The concern here is about the nation's welfare, its day-to-day existence. He who hampers the constructive activities of the party also acts to harm the nation.

The primary field of our party's political activity in the current political situation is to establish a position on the self-government of socialist enterprises under conditions of economic reform.

The PZPR KW plenum recommends that city and plant party organizations take active part in political-organizational activities regarding the formation, functioning and shaping of the socialist character of workers' self-government.

The KW advises groups of PZPR council members--the Voivodship National Council--to create a Commission for Workers' Self-Government Affairs, whose task will be to watch over the functioning and developing of self-government for the workforces of enterprises of Katowice Voivodship.

The KW obligates the Executive Board to evaluate periodically the implementation of the economic reforms and the functioning of self-government for enterprise workforces. The KW requests that Sejm deputies from our voivodship and the entire Sejm of the Polish People's Republic pass a resolution now, in September, relating to trade unions, Workers' Self-Government and State Enterprises. We make an appeal, however, that in the resolution the PZPR, as the guiding party, be guaranteed its rightful authority to initiate cadre policies.

The KW plenum accepts the report of the KW Executive Board that was presented at the plenum and the conclusions, evaluations and presented tasks contained therein and recommends their inclusion in the program of activity for the voivodship echelons.

The plenum recommends that the conclusions announced during the discussions of today's plenum, the contents of the Second and Third Plenums of the PZPR Central Committee and the experiences gained in party work in the period since the Ninth Party Congress be included in the draft program.

At the same time we have decided that:

--The matter of supplies for the people is a subject of special concern for the party's voivodship organization. In view of the fact that traditionally winter supplies were the object of concern of trade unions and that at present functioning Solidarity unions are not taking any action in this direction, we think it would be advisable to initiate concrete actions to mobilize supplies for the residents of Katowice Voivodship. At the same time, we resolve to hold a separate PZPR KW meeting on this matter.

--The KW plenum establishes an issues commission to operate in the KW framework and approves the personnel composition.

--The KW plenum establishes a team to develop a concept for party political work among the people of Katowice Voivodship.

--The KW plenum establishes a team to develop a plan for celebrating the 100th anniversary of the Polish worker movement.

11899
CSO: 2600/664

INTERVIEW OF ALBIN SIWAK BY CZECH TRADE UNION DAILY

AU261845 Prague PRACE in Czech 25 May 82 p 3

[Interview with PZPR Central Committee Politburo member Albin Siwak by M. Sulkova-Zitkova: "Polish Workers for Socialism"--place and date not given]

[Text] [Question] The last session of the Polish Sejm adopted a declaration on national accord. What is the significance of this document and what impact will it have on the activity of the Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth [OKON]?

[Answer] In brief, it is a hand stretched out to all Poles, an offer to participate in joint work. The building of socialism concerns everyone, that means people of various orientations, diverse concepts about life and different levels of awareness. Speaking about this topic, Comrade Jaruzelski stressed that the differences are not decisive, what matters is that these people go with us. I would like to point out that formerly the party also acted in this spirit and that, with its decisions, it keeps pursuing the line of national accord. The significance of the declaration of the Sejm is that of a document that corresponds to our need.

For years now there has been a National Unity Front in Poland. It is adapting its activity to the present situation because additional organizations would like to unite their will and endeavor in a single movement. You know that some former social organizations became fertile soil for hostile activities. However, it is necessary to distinguish from them those that have not taken this road. This also applies to the Church. Many clergymen take a positive attitude to Poland's present needs. Yet there are also Church officials who support the subversive activity of "Solidarity" under the cloak of the defense of man, and literally abuse, against the people, the demands of humaneness. I think that we must view this fact in a historical perspective.

This year we will celebrate in Poland the 100th anniversary of the emergence of the workers' movement. This century has witnessed enormous struggles. Workers were fighting for their human dignity, for an 8-hour working day, for basic social demands and rights. History does not know a single case of the Church supporting this workers' struggle. However, last year and 2 years ago, during the 16 months of "Solidarity's" activities, priests willingly hallowed its every party, every piece of cloth, every slogan. Yet the Church in Poland

has never even hallowed a single genuinely workers' banner! It never took a stand in defense of a jailed worker! And these workers often left behind them large families completely without means. The Church never gave any parcel to such a miserable family. But now some Church officials are willingly distributing parcels being sent from the West for "Solidarity" members, who live literally in luxury compared with the real fighters for workers' rights.

We can see in the light of such a historical comparison how important it is to distinguish even among Church representatives.

[Question] Very important in connection with the present needs and the entire development of the workers' movement in Poland, which you have just spoken about, is the discussion on trade unions. How do you assess this discussion?

[Answer] I travel a lot, meet workers and can say that the overwhelming majority of the workers' class speak about unified trade unions, class-based, branch trade unions. It does not matter whether they are called branch trade unions. What matters is that they associate members within a relatively broad range of a certain profession, we might say along the lines of individual [professional] unions. They should be large trade unions in the sense that the world union should stand for a profession. Meant are naturally socialist trade unions, fully in the sense of the Marxist line. Many such signals can be heard in Polish factories and at other workplaces.

[Question] The discussion about the future trade unions surely contributes to enhancing the working people's ideological maturity. How do you assess this impact of the disussion and where is the discussion particularly strong?

[Answer] Of course, it contributes. I would like to draw attention to yet another fact. The aktiv, that means the trade union cadres, has been reduced to a considerable extent, especially in the branch trade unions. That is a consequence of the long months in which "Solidarity" exerted immense pressure on these cadres, in which they were being held up, beaten, kicked out of their jobs. There were many such cases. Let me mention, for example, the events in Krosno where workers were taken out of the factory on wheelbarrows and publicly baited. Many were driven to suicide. I could cite a number of cases. A large percentage of our trade union cadres has simply been destroyed and the aktiv broken up. People were not able to withstand the terrible onslaught.

All that has an impact on the present discussion. Wherever the cadre base remained intact, the disussions are passionate and strong. These people know what trade unions should be like, they initiate discussions and channel them in the right direction. The discussion is, of course, weaker where we do not have cadres. This sorting out of views is essential and assists the growth of a new trade union aktiv.

[Question] Of great significance for the further development of Polish society is the latest PZPR Central Committee plenum. What course is the implementation of its conclusions taking?

Since Comrade Jaruzelski became first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, all resolution of plenary sessions have been linked with personal responsibility

for their implementation. This applies not only to the eighth plenum but also to the preceding ones--the sixth and seventh. When a plenary session adopts a decision on and sets the responsibility for a certain issue, at the subsequent session it is necessary to say in public how the decision was carried out and, if it was not implemented, why and who is responsible. Comrade Jaruzelski was the first to introduce this concrete responsibility into practice in the leadership of our party.

Now, let me give some more details about the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It dealt primarily with problems of the national economy, with its development--to be more accurate, with ways of bringing the economy out of the disarray into which it had been dragged. It also adopted resolutions on housing construction and on the party's expurgation. These are important resolutions. At the Ninth Plenum (at the beginning of June, the date has not been fixed yet), specifically-designated people will have to render an account on how the adopted resolutions are implemented in practice. In other words, in these conditions, in this particular enterprise you have to do this and this. If you do not, you will have to publicly render account of your activity. Personal responsibility has become an inseparable part of our party's decisionmaking.

[Question] Comparing the situation prior to the imposition of the state of emergency and today, how would you assess the economic situation?

[Answer] Work in all our factories and enterprises, regardless of the type of production--in places which have sufficient quantity of raw materials--has made progress. However, lack of raw materials persists in many factories. Generally speaking, one might say that the entire national economy is already past an impasse. Even the general public can observe this. More foodstuffs and industrial products can be seen. The number of collectives that understand the essential need for disciplined and useful work, who set an example and demand that others, too, work like themselves is growing day by day. But there are also individuals who, in the spirit of "Solidarity's" slogan "Work at a snail's pace," prolong, in fact, the shortage of goods. Comrade Jaruzelski said at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in connection with this slogan that he who works like a snail will have to make do with the snail, he will not get anything else.

I would like to say that very soon, on 1 January 1982, we will introduce a new system of remuneration in all branches in support of good work collectives. The new system will provide incentives for better work performance. We want to do away with a situation in which, for example, someone makes 10,000 zlotys a month, has the money guaranteed and can sit the whole month with folded hands doing nothing. We will not allow such things. Let those who work make 10,000 zlotys or perhaps even 15,000 zlotys. But he who works little or poorly will make hardly one-fifth of that sum and, possibly, not even that. And those who want to resemble a snail must make do with the snail.

[Question] In an interview for our paper you stressed the importance of dealing with the problems of young people. Will a PZPR Central Committee Plenum be devoted to this issue?

[Answer] Yes, we promised that and we will live up to the promise. The preparations are in progress. The plenum will be attended, as guests, by young people, representatives of youth organizations from voivodships and factories and from the central leadership in Warsaw. The objective of the plenum is to encompass the problems relevant to the youth. This concerns the job prospects of young people, the full appreciation of the youth, the correct orientation of their education and the use of their qualifications following the completion of their studies or vocational training. It also concerns housing construction for young people. It would be unreasonable to conceal that thousands of newlyweds are renting tiny apartments for enormous sums of money. That is why their life is full of hardship, the private sublease swallows up most of their earnings. The point is that they should have an apartment of their own so that they can have children and simply be a family and not just two young people.

The youth issue encompasses a broad range of problems. It is, above all, winning many young people for socialism. We must frankly admit that a number of teachers have torn the youth away from socialism. We also reproach some parents. There exist such paradoxical situations that the father is a party member, the mother is a party member and the son goes out to the streets to demonstrate. The devil knows why. He has enough to eat, he has clothes to wear, he studies but he wants to riot, to indulge himself. When we then talk to him and ask him why he took to the streets, he does not even know. His friends went, so he went along. This example shows that a young person must be made aware and won over to the cause of socialism. This is naturally a question of cadres, of correct textbooks, of a correct approach and so forth. For all these reasons, the very next PZPR Central Committee plenum will deal with problems of the youth.

[Question] The West is trying to exploit the May disturbances in some Polish cities for its old plan, to interfere in Poland's internal affairs. How do you view this attempt?

[Answer] We have already once digressed to history in the course of this conversation and must do so again. It is no secret that even during World War II the West concentrated all its forces against socialism. It felt a favorable wind in Poland and the mistakes committed later by the party leadership considerably facilitated its position. Already years ago people from the West were being shipped to our coasts. Besides, there were also traitors in our own ranks such as Spasowski, former deputy minister of foreign affairs, or Kurarz, former ambassador to Japan. For a long time subversive activity against Poland has been purposefully combined with incitement against the Soviet Union and has been directed against it. Let us take, for example, a look at the following.

The West often commemorates today Marshal Pilsudski, the former dictator of the Polish state. The 12th of May, when disturbances broke out at several places in Warsaw, is the anniversary of Pilsudski's death as well as of the military putsch in which he seized power. The Church was ready to have a Mass in honor of this anniversary. Let us ask Why?

When Pilsudski died in 1935, the Church threw his corpse out of the Church building. It did not permit his burial in Wawel where prominent statesmen were usually buried, nor did it permit a religious ceremony, not even the bells to toll. It adopted this harsh attitude toward him because he seceded from the Roman Catholic Church and joined the Calvinists. However, now the Church does not mind, nor does "Solidarity." It suits them to eulogize a representative of the bourgeois system because his two anniversaries coincide with the 5-month anniversary of the imposition of the state of emergency in Poland.

Neither the Church nor "Solidarity" mind that on a single day Pilsudski had 420 people, political opponents of his regime, shot! They do not mind that Pilsudski founded the first concentration camp in Europe. It was in Bereza Kartuska and hundreds of workers who demonstrated against the bourgeois government perished there.

The Church and "Solidarity" keep these horrible facts a secret from the people, young people do not know them and, therefore, can be misused. The West is greatly involved in this too. It has not abandoned its attempts to undermine Poland and to attack the Soviet Union via its territory.

[Question] Press agencies reported that instructions for the disturbances were being issued, among other places, in churches. What was the social composition of the rioters?

[Answer] Every person experienced in politics knows that the Western subversionists do not have the slightest scruples. The rioters were children, 15- or 16-year olds from schools. They assembled in churches, from which they departed and to which they returned. The people's religious feelings and religious places were exploited with utter cynicism. Workers did not participate at all in the May disturbances. We would do wrong to the remaining youth if we said that the Polish youth took to the streets. Young people were working or studying in schools and only a negligible handful were in the streets. Nevertheless, we regard the whole issue as a serious problem.

[Question] Interesting in this connection is the decision adopted in your country that schools should discuss with the students their participation in the unrest.

[Answer] Yes, I would expand this a little. It is necessary to talk to the young people but also to their teachers and their parents, to make them realize what an enormous social upsurge the first generation of socialism represented. We have, after all, concrete evidence--the father, a professor, and the mother, a physician, who are of very humble origin, from a poor rural family where there was not enough to eat and no shoes to wear in winter. Were it not for socialism, the father and the mother would be tending cattle and raking manure. Socialism gave them their education but they forget this. And their son goes out into the streets; they did not pass down to him any of the values of socialism.

We realize that a number of teachers are simply not fit for their jobs. They do not want to solve problems from the viewpoint of socialism, they have gone over to the positions of the political enemy. According to them, everything in the West is good and everything in socialism is bad. And that is not true. When a situation such as in our country arises in socialism, then it is not the fault of the system or the idea but the fault of concrete people and errors that

have to be removed. Poles arriving in your country, Czechoslovakia, see your development and that is the point at issue in Poland today: To build a socialism in which even a cleaning woman earns her bread but also enough for clothes and other needs, in which obligations and remuneration are reasonably balanced. Surely, a minister who is responsible for an entire branch deserves to be furnished with the means enabling him to live in dignity, but this must not be 10 or 20 times as much as a hard-working laborer makes. Such differences are naturally striking to the eye.

[Question] How do you assess the present level of relations between the Polish and Czechoslovak working people?

[Answer] Your experiences have a great value for our working people. You went through a difficult period of crisis and have managed to get out of it and to draw conclusions. Many people in our country compare, lively discussions between Czechoslovak and Polish workers are taking place, especially in the border areas. The problems are analyzed with unusual candor and that is valuable. We can learn from your experiences. Of particular importance for Poles is to become acquainted with your country, I have already mentioned this. The main thing is that specially the workers' class of the two countries strengthen ties so that--as far as we are concerned--as many workers as possible can take home and apply these findings from Czechoslovakia.

CSO: 2400/244

STUDENT UNION VIEWS SITUATION IN HIGHER SCHOOLS

AU122196 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 82 pp 1, 3

[Jerzy Godula report on the 8-9 May plenum of the Socialist Union of Polish Students Supreme Council in Wilga: "Let Us Get Out of the Circle of Impotence" --passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /What is the current situation in the student community? That was an item on the agenda of a plenum of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP], which was the first to be held since the organization resumed its activity. The deliberations, chaired by Tadeusz Savic, Supreme Council chairman, were held on 8-9 May in Wilga, Siedlce Voivodship./

The plenum discussed a report delivered by Tadeusz Savic on behalf of the Supreme Council Executive Committee of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. (The theses of the report are published on page 3) [Note: See article below]. The report assessed the current situation in the higher schools, presented tasks confronting the organization, as well as the concepts of developing the student movement in the future as discussed in the student community. Moreover, the speaker moved, in line with the statutes, to convene the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students in November 1982.

/Both council members and many aktiva attending the plenum participated in the discussions. Much attention was paid to the condition of the student community. Under the present conditions, one must not count on the activity of the masses of students. Solutions acceptable at least to small groups of students must be found./ That must be the starting point for drawing up specific activity programs and for invigorating the community. One of the main tasks confronting the union, Zbigniew Wrobel from Katowice said in particular, is to override the passiveness of the community.

/The evaluation of the union's activity recently proved to be highly controversial./ The prestige of the organization is now low, Kazimierz Olejnik from Lodz said. Other speakers, including Zenon Wiertelorz from Opole and Andrzej Florek from Rzeszow, appealed to hold back emotions. As an organization, we have had definite achievements and must continue to multiply them, they said.

/The union still has not recovered in the new situation, but its task is precisely to defend the interests of students and to foster the leftwing stream in the student community./ The utmost must be done to consolidate the organization in schools, particularly in faculties and institutes, Eryk Szafinski from Katowice said. Even before the summer vacations, the union must initiate a discussion on the future of the student movement, Maciej Gierej from Warsaw said.

/Much heed was paid to the material living conditions of students. Scholarships must increase in step with the growing costs of living./ It is essential as soon as possible to draw up a new system for state material assistance to meet the basic needs of students. /It is particularly important to provide appropriate living conditions for student families. The question of providing graduates of higher schools with a start in vocational life, with prospects encouraging them to work well, is also highly important./

Those are the problems that must be regarded as the most topical in the union's activity. At the moment, they are the most essential for the community. We must be bolder than we have been to date in defending the interests of students, Andrzej Orecki from Krakow said. Much time and energy have been dedicated to draw up a scholarship system, but there are no results in sight. The ministry's latest proposals, Grzegorz Onicnimowski from Warsaw said, are incompatible with the principles which should be valid in our state.

/Pronouncedly prevalent in the discussion was the view that the Socialist Union of Polish Students should preserve the features of a political organization./ Grzegorz Kazmierski from Katowice said that students needed to air their political views. Restricted to trade union activity, Marek Kaszuba from Warsaw said, the organization will be weak. This results from the fact that the student community is highly interested in politics, and political activity is a condition for consolidating the organization and boosting its reliability.

/In the resolution adopted at the end, the plenum approved the analysis and the assessment of the situation in the university community presented in the report and enriched in the discussion and endorsed guidelines for the union's immediate activity. The union's Supreme Council came out in favor of national accord and supported the idea of reconciliation proposed in the Sejm./ The resolution emphasized that the idea must as soon as possible be followed by concrete facts meeting the real needs of society. The plenum found that the most important and pressing task was to draw up a strategic plan and to reshape political life so as to break the dramatic barrier of the lack of confidence in the authorities, to rid the atmosphere of apathy and impotence.

/Against that background, the plenum evaluated with concern the events that took place recently in the streets of many cities in our country./ The participation of young people in those events with frequent manifestations of hooliganism, the resolution reads, resulted not only from the deliberate game played by the opponents of socialism endeavoring to foil the chances for stabilization; it also resulted from frustration caused by the lack of clear prospects.

/At the same time, the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students,/ the resolution emphasized, /is against charging the entire student community with unilateral responsibility for those events, against the exaggerated divisions among communities, as well as against anti-intellectual incitement.

/The plenum found it expedient for the Socialist Union of Polish Students, for students, institutions and organizations to take concrete steps aimed at normalizing life in the country and, consequently, at abolishing martial law, at creating conditions favorable for a real dialogue, as well as for continuing the extensive economic and social reforms initiated after August 1980./

A large part of the resolution was devoted to the main programmatic lines and tasks of the Socialist Union of Polish Students for the upcoming months.

/The session participants adopted a decision concerning the system of material assistance to students./ The present system, it was stated in the document, is increasing the disproportion in the living standards of individual groups in the community. What is needed are government decisions specifying the amount of subsidies assigned for material assistance to students. The way in which those subsidies are to be distributed must be accepted by the majority of the university community, no matter who proposes the manner of distribution.

At the same time it was stated that the draft system of state material assistance to students presented by the Ministry of Science, Higher Schools and Techology was unacceptable because it infringed upon the basic constitutional principles of the socialist state, particularly the principle of social justice and the right to equal educational opportunities for all citizens.

/In a separate decision concerning the act on higher education, the plenum noted that the new act disregarded many postulates raised by the Socialist Union of Polish Students. However, that act was a necessary compromise resulting from various interests and from various ways in which the sides which drafted the legal act had reached common conclusions./ The plenum found it expedient to initiate a discussion in the university community on the real implementation of the act in higher schools, in particular through the participation of the union's representatives in the work of the commissions drafting statutes for higher schools and other executive documents concerning the act.

/In connection with the fact that the governing bodies end their term in December, the Supreme Council resolved to hold the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students on 4-7 November 1982./ A program team has been set up for the Fourth Congress of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. A decision was adopted on the accountability and election campaign preceding the congress. The election of congress delegates should be completed before 20 October.

/Moreover, the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students adopted decisions concerning programmatic and organizational theses for this year's summer action, activity conditions in student clubs, and principles for the functioning of the organization under martial law.

/The session made changes in the composition of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students./ Moreover, the plenum relieved Wieslaw Debski, at his request, of his duties as Executive Committee member of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students. Roman Grynienko, Marian Redwan and Bogdan Kasperek were elected Executive Committee members of the Supreme Council of the Socialist Union of Polish Students.

CSO: 2600/709

THESES OF SZSP EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE REPORT PUBLISHED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 10 May 82 p 3

[Theses presented at 809 May plenum of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP)]

[Text] The attitudes of students vary from acceptance of the actions of the authorities to active struggle with the authorities and the destruction of the state. The majority of the student community exhibits no activity, for various reasons. "Internal emigration" is a result of conscious choice for only some of the students. For most, it is a reaction to disorientation in changing realities, lack of prospects, and unsolved problems of everyday existence. Many students feel that there are no conditions for any kind of social and political activity during martial law.

In recent days there have occurred illegal demonstrations, which in many cities turned into street clashes. Students also took part in them. As a result, there have been material losses, but above all social losses. We view these events unequivocally: They do not serve to stabilize the situation, do not favor the elimination of the rigors of martial law in favor of political methods of conducting social dialogue, and do not aid in the rebuilding of the democratic institutions of public life.

It is difficult to agree with the attempt to place unilateral blame for these events on the entire student community. Only a group of students participated. One cannot submit general appraisals on such a basis, nor can one create artificial barriers by dividing young Poles into students, workers, and peasants. It must be remembered that we are all responsible for the young generation--people, institutions, systems of upbringing.

Today, our motivation to activity is the complete and painful realization of the needs and problems which must be resolved in Poland. We are convinced that today--no less than before December--we need constructivism, innovation and criticism, features which have taken root in the SZSP. If normalization of the situation and the direction of further reforms, without which we as a country will not emerge from the crisis, are important to us, we must continue our broad political activity. This activity must be bold but judicious, taking account of reality.

We understand the political nature of our organization as involving: the protection of and participation in the formation of vocational and living opportunities for our community, the wider young generation, and the breaking down of the circle of impotence surrounding these questions; the creation of conditions for resuming open official political discussion--since the list of problems facing everyone today is a long one, we must resume this discussion with inevitable risk, but also with awareness of its usefulness; the assistance and implementation of civic initiatives serving schools, the community and society.

The actual political subjectivity of the SZSP is determined by a number of unsettled student affairs. They must quickly be resolved in the interest of the community, but also in the properly understood general social interest. Our organization cannot be a mere transmitter of opinion and cannot merely reflect student views and attitudes. The SZSP must mold values and views within its own community. Otherwise, it will lose its reason for being and will cease to be necessary to its own members and the rest of the student community.

We want to preserve the achievements and the good name of the SZSP. We have original projects and proposals, and also the possibility of programmatic actions. We also have many obstacles and troubles, which is the other side of SZSP reality. We will defend nothing, will solve no problem and will remove no obstacle if we do not make concrete, intensive activity and work our first order of business. We cannot allow strategic solutions in the sutdent movement, although they are very important and necessary, to blind us to the specific problems of everyday student life.

CSO: 2600/710

SOCIALIST UNION OF POLISH YOUTH LEADER INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 16-18 Apr 82 p 4

[Interview with Tadeusz Sawic, chairman of the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP), by Jerzy Godula: "Continuity and Dialog"]

[Text] [Question] History has again taken the course that has made the SZSP the only student organization, just like in the 1970's.

[Answer] This is not true. In colleges, the ZMW [Rural Youth Union] is operational and the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] is trying to function. The Student Instructor Circles of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] also exist.

[Question] That is right, but you will not deny that the SZSP is--now that the NZS [Independent Association of Students] has been dissolved--the largest student organization and the only one that counts.

[Answer] This situation is temporary. Not only those several months between August 1980 and December 1981, but the 1970's as well have proved that the student community is too diversified for a single student organization to suffice. The SZSP virtually never included all students and even if at times it was close to that 'ideal,' a segment of the student community accepted membership in the organization without identifying themselves with its goals or program. We were aware of that, which can be verified by looking at the 'drop' [in membership] following each plenary session and consultative conference of the aktiv.

This lack of identification with the organization's goals on the part of a segment of the SZSP membership revealed itself--in reality, rather than in supposition--in the wake of August 1980. Actual world-view and political diversification of the student community was bound to lead to organizational pluralism under the new, favorable conditions. Organizations began to mushroom, on occasion composed of only a handful of members operating within the bounds of a single academic institution. In effect, it [omission; probably a remote reference to the NZS] constituted a sort of counterbalance to the SZSP with one organization operating for years within a pre-August 1980 formula, therefore a 'regime' one, opposed to the other, 'independent,' therefore 'anti-regime.'

[Question] It follows from what you said that the transformations of the student movement were affected solely by the overall political situation in the country. After August 1980, conditions simply developed that made growth of other organizations possible.

[Answer] That would be an impermissible simplification. Still, it should be noted that the changes in the student movement were a response--a direct response--to concepts in upbringing that were being practically implemented in academic institutions as well as elsewhere, and a response to the inconsiderable doses of independence in decision-making allowed in the political life and political structures in the past. To some extent, it was also a reaction to the inflow of information and fact, piecing together the picture of the country's actual--and dramatic--condition, an image that almost in its entirety differed from that contained in textbooks, handbooks and lectures.

I realize that this novel organizational situation in the student movement resulted, also, from the mistakes the SZSP itself committed. Nevertheless, it must be realized at the same time that new organizations would have arisen even if the SZSP's pre-August activities had been ideal, and even if the SZSP itself had been unimpreachable.

In simple terms, a significant segment of the student community, for various reasons disinclined to go into detail, had ascribed all the evil to the SZSP, as if a student organization could be held responsible for all the student problems that had not been solved and for virtually all errors committed in the policies targeted at youth, including academics, in higher education and culture, science and economy to boot. All told, such criticism was quite exaggerated....

[Question] ...at times, it was outright negation.

[Answer] Similarly, in the wake of August 1980 a segment of the student community were adamant in refusing to perceive that the SZSP, taking into account its membership's aspirations and realities, was changing its style and program of action. This process had begun as early as September 1980--very early in other words--at the SZSP Main Board Plenary Board session at Uniejow. Less than 3 months later, in December, third SZSP congress took place and precisely determined the organization's formula. At that congress, we recognized that our goal was to concentrate on all students who--regardless of their world outlook--were opting for socialism, to reinforce the state and economic, political and social reforms. We recognized that The SZSP, as a political organization, had the right to independently articulate its position on major issues concerning the country, the academic community and student population. We have sedulously availed ourselves of that right.

[Question] Your voice, however, did not always count.

[Answer] What does that mean--it did not count? It would be naive to think that the voice of any one organization should decide and resolve issues. This is not what participation in the political life is all about. In politics, realism is needed, rather than divine inspiration. To be sure, our

boice counted in the sense that it was being taken into account in society's thinking about solutions to particular issues, thus affecting the decisions that were made. We had our share in the work on the bill on higher education and the bill on censorship. We had our input in the creation of a new system for financial assistance to students and for employment of college graduates. There is a long list of similar examples.

[Question] How did SZSP membership respond to the decision to suspend SZSP's activities after the imposition of martial law?

[Answer] I cannot answer this question precisely. Their response varied. A segment of SZSP membership recognized the suspension as a logical and justified move, for why should one student organization be allowed to operate while all others are not? Other SZSP members saw this decision as a chance to uphold a minimum of SZSP's credibility in the student community, reasoning that the organization's suspension meant the SZSP had been a nuisance to the authorities and had not been acting as a yes-man only. Still others accepted the suspension as an act of distrust towards an organization which in the course of intense political strife, consistently defended the ideology of socialism and the established state structure, proclaiming itself in favor of constructive, sensible solutions based on the existing constitutional and legal order.

Still, after the imposition of martial law, the question I was asked the most frequently concerned SZSP leadership's efforts to have the organization recover its pre-suspension status.

[Question] The decision to resume SZSP's activities was made more than a month ago. What are you doing now? What are your intentions?

[Answer] We are fully obligated by the resolutions of the Third SZSP congress. Just as in the past, these resolutions determine principal directions of our activity in the student community. At the same time, of course, we must take into account the accumulated experience and new actualities in the country and in the universities.

[Question] In general, then, you put your stake on continuity.

[Answer] Exactly. Our program must be conducive to actualization of aspirations and to solving current problems in the student community regardless of future determinations about the student movement. This stems from the fact that the SZSP is today the only potential organizer of activity in the student community. We will meet our obligations that result from this realization.

[Question] I agree, but the future profile of the student movement also constitutes a problem now perturbing the student community. I confess that I accepted the decision to resume SZSP activity, among other things, by according the entire community an opportunity to extensively debate the issue. I thought that the union would, if possible, assume the role of organizer of such debate.

[Answer] Of course it will. After all, I said earlier, there is probably no need for me to explain any longer that we are opposed to returning to the pre-August situation. There are just no chances for a single monopolistic student organization to exist.

We believe that the premises for a new model of student movement to crystallize should be, on the one hand, intensified activity in ideology and upbringing along with consolidation of the student left and, on the other hand, evolution of the forms of representation of the student community and defense of its interests. Only this, or rather as much as this, can be said on this issue at this time.

Change in the organization's profile must simply become a topic for discussion in the student community, to be decided by students alone. This discussion will not be easy because the community is disintegrated. Many students are now on 'domestic emigration.'

Still, despite these difficulties, the search for new solutions and for generating dialog in the community is our inalienable obligation.

[Question] Let's return to current tasks of the SZSP.

[Answer] We want, without a doubt, to have our program create opportunities for active participation for the largest possible segment of student youth. We want to offer specified undertakings and initiatives, addressed to the entire community. We are not finding the fact that our goal is to recover, in many cases only to reinforce, the organization's credibility and acceptable. We will work on a 'wide front,' as we always have done.

[Question] What does this mean?

[Answer] This means, as I have said, that we are not giving up on any area of our former activity.

Let us use as an example student's financial conditions during college study and graduates' starting independent life. On behalf of the student community, or rather in the interest of the student community we are carrying on protracted consultations on a new system of scholarships. We do it obviously hoping for concrete results fairly soon. We are about to begin work on organizing volunteer student effort. We conduct up-to-date analyses of conditions under which graduates start their professional careers and we stimulate appropriate ministries for more productive efforts, so that young specialists graduating from colleges do not feel frustrated by the lack of suitable jobs--often only a superficial lack. The same is true with regard to study, instruction, culture, sports, tourism and foreign interface activities.

[Question] Speaking about study, for a long time now we have watched with some concern a loss of faith in study as a value in and by itself. Motivation for acquiring knowledge is being weakened. Yet, in my opinion, acquired knowledge is, despite everything, the only capital, invaluable capital, that

knowledge is, despite everything, the only capital, invaluable capital, that a graduate takes with him out of a college, no matter what his future and his problems with finding a job or getting an apartment.

[Answer] Are you trying to ask what a student organization can do in a similar situation? In all likelihood, not much, because study habits and attitudes toward the acquisition of knowledge are formed earlier, in primary school, or perhaps even before that, within the family.

One things is certain--a student organization must be concerned with curriculum levels and quality of classes. It must provide conditions for the development of student scientific movement and it must participate in the arranging of hands-on professional intership periods to synchronize them with the course of instruction syllabus and requirements of future workplace. In brief, we must take care that the school's instructional or, more broadly, course and research offerings are attractive to the student. Hence our participation in the work of the Sejm commissions developing the bill on higher education.

At the same time, we will fight for such changes in the country that it will simply become worth one's while to study, know and be able to do more. Academic study is, however, a demanding job these days. We believe that results of that job must have some impact on the conditions under which professional careers start, and on the graduates' advancement to independence in life.

[Question] There is one more issue concerning knowledge, in this case, it is social, political knowledge. There is no lack of examples proving that students--not only students, in fact--with appearances of expertise discuss complex economic or social problems and historical events, actually being completely ignorant on these issues. This may sound brutal, but it is the unfortunate truth. In place of substantive information and reasoned argument, one is confronted in such cases with a confession of faith: I know that that is the way it is, or should be, and I will not change my opinion.

[Answer] Unfortunately, I cannot argue with this statement. Much sociological research, including studies conducted by student scientific circles, indicates that the level of knowledge and sociopolitical awareness is actually unsatisfactory in the student community. This, of course, has not come out of nowhere. It is a mathematical result of numerous developments and processes. To mention a few: level of education, attitudes toward officially transmitted knowledge and values, verifiability of prioritized personality models, containment of young people in their own domain and preservation of their dependence and detachment from experiences of normal living.

There are some conclusions to be drawn from that by the SZSP. We certainly have to change SZSP's forms of political work into more effective ones, but we must not abandon them. We need--perhaps even more than we have before--ideological debates, scientific seminars, political action centers, leaflets and publications including the WORKSHOP magazine which presents some of the success and advances in young people's social thinking. We want the SZSP to

attract and focus leftist activities in social sciences and clubs of student journalists who should aid the student community to interpret difficult contemporary problems.

We want to discuss major national issues in a substantive manner, analyzing the past and, on this basis, formulating tentative solutions to current problems as well as offering future visions and scenarios.

[Question] How are these tasks to be accomplished? Is the organization unaffected by the constraints of martial law?

[Answer] These constraints do affect us but they do not render vigorous activity impossible. We are operating to achieve stabilization in the work of academic institutions because that stabilization in its turn provides us--and the entire student community--with a broader field of action.

[Question] To conclude, let me ask about an "inner logic" in the SZSP development. During the past several months, the organization has experienced controversy, divergent views, even ordinary quarrels and announcement of dissent versus adopted resolutions. In fact two trends were clashing. There were those who wanted the SZSP to be a politico-ideological organization, Marxist in character, while others wanted it to combine a formula of a political and a union organization. These two trends coexist even now. Which model do you prefer?

[Answer] Divisions, differences of opinion and controversy are a completely natural phenomenon in the life of any organization. Within the SZSP, the "argument about basic concepts" proceeded, and continues, on several levels: possibilities to combine the political function and allocation of resources when operating in these two areas and the crystallizing of ideological platforms. Inherent in the SZSP "argument about basic concepts" is the question of the future of the union and the student movement in Poland.

As to what model it will be, a statement will be made on this issue by the SZSP Chief Council, and decisions will be made, if needed, by the Fourth SZSP Congress. I will be merely a participant in the discussion.

8790
CSO: 2600/552

COVERAGE OF SCOUT UNION SUPREME COUNCIL PLENUM

Excerpts of Discussion

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 May 82 pp 1, 2

Article by Magda Rulska: "Plenary Meeting of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] Supreme Council. Upbringing Cannot Be an Experiment"]

[Text] Can scouting help youth to find its place in Polish reality of the 1980's? How should it understand its role as the spokesman of children and youth? Generation conflict or a conflict of outlooks? Such were the main questions asked at the meeting of the members of the Polish Scout Union [ZHP] Supreme Council, held in Warsaw on May 29 and 30.

The report by the commander-in-chief, Andrzej Ornat, presented the case clearly (theses of this presentation are published on p 2). The psychological condition of youth which includes students, is not good. Lack of faith in participation in social life, isolation in separate groups, engagement in often openly aggressive activities directed toward its own state, authorities and symbols prove the existence of flaws in the educational system. The council's members asked themselves what can be done to help the school-age youth find its place in this obviously complicated reality, to shake off its apathy, bitterness, lack of faith. Is this task commensurate with the strength of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP)? If it is, should not help in extrication from this impasse become a new and basic tenet of its role as a guardian of children's and youth's interests?

Not everybody agreed with such a far-reaching thesis. Too much attention is being given to nonscouts, those who participate in the union with "one foot" only, and to potential members of the organization. We should concentrate on those already in the union. Wojciech Wroblewski from Cracow has pursued this idea in another direction. We are working honestly with the scouts but at the same time we should not permit dismissal of young people, throwing them out of school because they have allowed emotions to take hold of them. Maybe it is a correct propagandistic action but it is not a proper one from the point of view of upbringing. To view this differently, if we do not also accept this kind of responsibility, if we silently accept such practices,

this would lead young people to adopt a passive life style, to ever-increasing isolation, possibly even to aggression.

"It is not so," many council members have protested. We are concerned with the causes of hostile attitudes, not with their results. We should be able to work with youth in a way that helps it in self-upbringing, so that it would be guided by a coherent system of values, not by emotions, the more so because youth feels these values intuitively, it loudly declares its pursuit of truth, justice, democracy. Joint pursuit of these values, openness of the union, its principles and ideals--provided they are clean and convincing, if the ideals match their implementation--would be a method to recruit those who cannot find their place, who have nothing to lean on, who lack authority.

We have a most significant weapon--the scout code. It includes a statement about the need of changing the world for better, about the need of fighting for a just cause, about the necessity of fighting against wrongs afflicting other people. This applies not only to the scouts, this applies to all people. To shun responsibility for the interests of the school youth would mean an impoverishment of the idea of scouting and would result in looking for distant tasks, while ignoring those in the immediate neighborhood.

A question was asked several times during the Saturday discussion whether we are not perhaps dealing with a generation conflict. Youth does not usually trust adults, it charges them for all that has happened in the country, it says: "It was you who have led us to this mess."

Wieslaw Pietruszak from Gorzow said: "I do not think that this is how this division runs. There is no conflict when the deeds match the words, where the upbringing, therefore also also the scounting work, is not just a sham, deception and verbiage." This thesis was seconded by Dariusz Fryczewski: "We are saying that the youth has assumed a 'no' position. But where do we, the instructors, stand? Don't we have among us such individuals who change their views overnight, who often are not able to figure out what is going on? Don't we encounter such individuals who only now have found a firm ground under their feet, who make loud noises--only now there is a true scounting, the previous one was always erring?"

Nowy Sacz council commander, Andrzej Guc, added: "The 'war' decisions of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing are a tragedy, they are a slap in the face for the teachers, educators, instructors. What have we actually done in order to prevent the youth from taking to the streets? We must admit that we must take part of the blame for this. Are we to restrict our role to that of the defenders of those who have erred? The motivations were varied. I have a boy, a scout. I know him well, we can probably vouch for him, not as a matter of principle but from a conviction that in this concrete case it would be educationally justified."

All the discussants agreed that the youth can be assisted only through truly educational activities and a responsible position of the adults. They, the instructors, should not "err" any more. "Let's stop upbringing experiments," said Adam Mielewicz. "Let's stop introducing novelties when our

motivation is a temporary euphoria. This does not serve the child, does not help to gain confidence, which is, after all, the foundation of a dialogue with the youngest ones, for their upbringing.

It was agreed that at the same time a myth of only one proper educational method should be discarded--a method to which whole generations, people linked by more or less fashionable views, adhere. We are dealing with the kind of youth that we deserve but it does not mean that we must yield a fight for it. The stick-and-carrot method, which is dominant in Polish education, should not apply to scouting. It has its own method of work, its goals are the same as the goals of the people's state; it has therefore a moral right to request respect and confidence for the scout method and, what is more important, its idea.

The resolution approved by the Supreme Council underlined the necessity of activation of the scout commands and instructors; shaping fighting attitudes, it noted a need for a more uncompromised stand and a will to change everything that is bad in life, organization and society. The resolution states that the instructor must be receptive to the causes and problems of the youth, he must present them honestly and participate in their solution. The resolution makes the scout educators particularly responsible for the care of young people in their milieus, for ensuring that they are protected against the influence of irresponsible individuals who would like to use the youth for their political aims. The resolution states that those who are under detention should be given the necessary assistance after their release from the detention centers; they should be helped in their social adaptation.

Sunday was devoted to the evaluation of the union's work during the year since Seventh Congress of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP). It was a historic congress. The resolutions adopted by it have safeguarded the unity of the union and strengthened the scouting upbringing ideal as well as the social character of this organization. The Polish Scout Union (ZHP) was the target of strong and politically significant pressure by the extremist antisocial groups, which attempted to change the ideological orientation of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP) and to splinter it. In spite of these difficulties the organization survived the past year in good shape. Although its ranks are thinner, those who can reform the union and make it stronger remained.

In a secret ballot the decisive majority of the Supreme Council expressed a vote of confidence in the Presidium of the Supreme Council and the Headquarters of the Polish Scout Union (ZHP).

Thesis of Report

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 May 82 p 2

[Text] We are facing a particular kind of duality of youth's attitudes toward socialism. On one side, it identifies it with all that is evil in the history of People's Poland, on the other side, it believes in the need for implementation of the main values of socialism, such as equality, social justice, authentic democracy.

The Polish Scout Union (ZHP) wants to gain youth's allegiance for the fatherland by means of the systematic ideology-upbringing work, not necessarily always stressing that the values that we are following are socialist values. Verbosity should be avoided.

The Polish Scout Union (ZHP) trusts that society, the party and the state would display confidence in the union's methods of influencing the youth. This attitude should be expressed not through declarations but through the necessary help in the union's daily work with children and youth.

The Polish Scout Union (ZHP) wants to remain an union ready to solve the problems of the school-age children and youth, not only scouts' problems. One of the measures of this activity is the representation of the interests of children and youth, which is a particular expression of scout service.

The ideological and programmatic decisions of the Supreme Council meeting will be presented to the Ninth Plenary Meeting of the PZPR Central Committee. The scout instructors must demonstrate the activity and problems of children and youth to the state and party authorities as well as at the forums of other organizations.

9544
CSO: 2600/661

COMMUNICATIONS OFFICER DISCUSSES ROLE, ACTIVITIES

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 7, 8, 9 May 82 p 5

[Interview with Capt Witold Stolarczyk by Bernard Walenski, date and place not given: "We See the Man Under the Uniform"]

[Text] Captain Witold Stolarczyk is the commander of a signal subunit in one of the units of 10 Sudeten Tank Division named after the Heroes of the Soviet Army. According to his superior, he is an exemplary educator for soldiers.

[Question] What led you to become an officer?

[Answer] I graduated from a technical school and certainly could have opted for a job I had received training for. However, the armed forces appealed to me. Ultimately, two factors were responsible for my going to an officer school. Firstly, while receiving vocational training, I lived at a boarding school. I got accustomed to life in a group and could easily imagine my place in a military entity. Secondly, I graduated from school in Lodz and we were offered jobs only in the city or in the immediate vicinity, whereas I wanted a change in climate.

[Question] Were family traditions a factor?

[Answer] No. For as many generations as memories of our family go back, I have been the first professional soldier. My father did not serve in the army at all because of an illness.

[Question] How did a family with so little military background receive your decision?

[Answer] My mother was horrified. She associated military service with great danger.

[Question] Is it not so?

[Answer] For a long time, it was not, at least not in practice.

[Question] Are you married?

/Answer/ Yes. I have a six-year-old daughter and a four-year-old son. He is fascinated with the army.

/Question/ Does your wife have the fears your mother used to?

/Answer/ The man she married was an officer.

/Question/ But she did not know that 13 December would come about...

/Answer/ Early that day, there was shock and tears. Luckily for me, it was over the phone, because I did not even have the time to say good-bye. It is good that it happened the way it did, because I would not have known what and how to say in such a situation. After a couple of weeks, it became easier.

/Question/ How about the children?

/Answer/ It is the fate of officers' children to be accustomed to a temporary absence of their father. My wife told them I was at the training grounds.

/Question/ Perhaps, they did not believe it, because nowadays even children in day care centers get involved in politics.

/Answer/ As a matter of fact, my daughter heard about "the war." She asked me questions about it during my first visit home.

/Question/ How were these questions worded?

/Answer/ They were naive, but troublesome for me. For example, she asked me about who I was killing at the war and whether Germans were involved...

/Question/ How did you answer?

/Answer/ Well, I told her that shooting and killing are not what this war is about, but rather being on the lookout for rascals and pilferers in order to have quiet everywhere, because when the army is out of force, the rascals are afraid and do not make mischief.

/Question/ Did you convince your daughter?

/Answer/ My daughter--yes.

/Question/ And your enlisted men?

/Answer/ We did not talk to the enlisted men about the rascals, or rather not only about them. Anyway, we did not generally talk much on 13 December. Earlier, there was a systematic and in-depth effort to explain and interpret the new situation in the country after August 1980. Like the majority of our society, the soldiers wanted changes in the country, but they were not blinded, they were not contaminated by the poison of hatred for anything that stands for the state, party or socialism. Being somehow on the sidelines of Polish

events, the enlisted men were aware of the destructive and dangerous work of the leaders of the already open opposition. Therefore, they fulfilled the tasks with which they were charged on 13 December with full confidence in the righteousness of these tasks. This conviction was further reinforced in the following days of December which were not easy for the soldiers for many reasons.

/Question/ Part of those who were soldiers at the time are wearing civilian clothes these days. Others have put on uniforms, the ones whose attitudes brought on the imposition of martial law...

/Answer/ I don't want to generalize. However, on the basis of experience with my own subunit I can assure you that these young people, often entangled in various undertakings, are not enemies of socialist Poland. Nonetheless, they are aware of the fact that their enthusiasm for the program of changes has been skillfully exploited by somebody else to ends absolutely different from those officially declared. However, they came to this realization a little bit too late.

/Question/ Can an officer influence and does he influence in practice the attitudes of soldiers?

/Answer/ This is a duty of the commanding officer. It is his task to give the soldier purely military training while at the same time shape and mold his personality. These two activities must be coupled. For this purpose, the commander must come to know his soldiers intimately, comprehensively and from the very beginning. I do it mainly during sincere one-on-one talks. We talk about everything--personal matters, hobbies, family situation. If the conversation is skillfully managed, the soldier opens up before the officer. An experienced officer is able to draw conclusions from that as how to further approach the soldier. Each one is different, everyone should be assigned his individual duties, depending on his moral and physical predisposition, but in such a way that everybody can fulfill his task well. The attitude of the commanding officer is also important, such as his personal example, military professionalism, discipline, veracity and fair treatment of all soldiers.

/Question/ I would admit that the individua' approach to soldiers and simultaneous fair treatment are in conflict in this case. A unit is a group unified by similar uniforms which receives one order rather than a dozen at once.

/Answer/ That is correct, provided however, that the commanding officer must see the young man under the uniform. This is the basis for the most important change in values in our armed forces over the 15 years I have been in the service. No longer is there the anecdotal soulless corporal, no longer is there drill, which is not to say that there is no discipline. However, discipline is ensured by totally different methods. I would say that marked humanization of the armed forces and the service has come about. Nowadays, a different breed of young people comes to the army, which is physically weaker and psychologically more delicate. This had to be reflected in manuals and service regulations, in the entire process of training soldiers. Besides, our armed forces today are a much more democratic institution.

[Question] ...where a corporal can give an order to a captain?

[Answer] Certainly, this is not the essence of democratization.

[Question] Then what is?

[Answer] The right of each enlisted man and officer to take part in decision-making. To be sure, once a decision has been made, the order is mandatory. To elucidate this I should dwell at length on this subject. I will reduce it to the statement that in today's army it is not only the order that matters, but the man has a considerable say regardless of his rank. Factors of social influence, as we call them, mainly party and youth organizations play an important role in democratizing the army.

[Question] I find it difficult to believe that at a party meeting a private first class, for example, criticizes a lieutenant.

[Answer] To be sure, military ranks are a certain barrier to criticism. However, if a soldier refers critically to a certain issue at a party meeting, for us this is identical with criticizing the person, often an officer, in charge of this issue. The environment in the unit, the attitude of the commander towards officers and enlisted men are important. In our unit, these are very good.

[Question] If you were to promote officer schools, which arguments would you use?

[Answer] At first, I would like to get acquainted with candidates, because I would not talk everybody into going to an officer school. If I would, I would primarily say that the armed forces give exceptional growth opportunities to able and ambitious men.

[Question] How come some officers 40-plus years age get promoted to generals, whereas others retire with the rank of captain?

[Answer] It is determined by selection, in the good meaning of this word. To best move up, they take advantage of various privileges and they can indeed become even generals, if they do not let the opportunity that is given to them slip by. On the other hand, family and other considerations often become an impediment in one's career.

[Question] Let us say the calendar has been set back by 15 years and you are taking your high school graduation exams. Would you still make the same choice?

[Answer] Yes, I would still choose an officer school, however I would change my profession.

[Question] Don't you like the signal service?

[Answer] I would not put it that way. However, this is an exceptionally difficult service, though a very interesting one, because it is constantly modernized. During my time in the service, the equipment pool of communications in the armed forces has been totally replaced.

[Question] Does the national economy draw benefits from this?

[Answer] Considerable benefits, I suppose. Every year we release to the economy many well-trained specialists. Radio operators are especially sought after, for example by the PKP [State Polish Railways] and civil aviation. Radio technicians are also eagerly accepted by service shops upon discharge from the army.

[Question] If I asked the first soldier I meet in the barracks about Capt Bytel (for the information of our readers, he is a hero of 10 Sudeten Division)--would he be able to tell me something about him?

[Answer] I cannot vouch for everyone. We attach great importance to soldiers gaining knowledge of heroic traditions of the division and its particular regiments. Our tradition room is a very frequently visited place. We celebrate regimental holidays. We frequently host veterans of our division from the war period. Soldiers know the history of the division, but, as is the case usually, some know it better, others--worse.

[Question] What wishes can we address to an officer of the Polish Armed Forces on the eve of a holiday such as Victory Day?

[Answer] Health, because we need a lot of energy and physical fitness. And also quiet, so that the officer be able to improve his skills and train his subordinate enlisted men well. Also--and this is a wish not only for those in the military--that we, people in military uniforms, will never again have to be employed in the country in the capacity we have been since 13 December.

[Question] Please, accept these wishes.

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RESERVISTS' PRIVILEGES, ACTIVITIES DISCUSSED

Assistance Rendered

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 4 May 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Major Jerzy Komotajtis, member of the Provincial Military Staff Headquarters in Lublin by staff writer Slawomir Nadlonek: "On Assistance Rendered to the Reservists." Date and place not stated]

[Text] As it is well known, the group of third-year class soldiers who served on extended active duty, in excess of the obligatory term of service, have been granted certain privileges authorized by the highest military authorities, as a way of recognizing their exemplary and responsible attitude and activity in defending the country. These privileges include, a priority in employment opportunities of reservists and access to military or civilian higher studies.

We are talking today with Major Jerzy Komotajtis, member of the Provincial Military Staff Headquarters [WSzW] in Lublin, regarding the realization of the promises made to those soldiers--now reservists.

[Question] Let us start with the basic subject. Do the WSzW and the Military Recruitment Stations [WKU] have the detailed information concerning the needs and interests of the reservists who have recently completed their active duty obligation?

[Answer] We do have complete knowledge of the situation in this respect. Our soldiers, prior to leaving the military service, expressed their wishes by filling out a so-called questionnaire of needs. There they have precisely stated their requests and intentions. Some of them expressed a desire to return to their old employment. Another group has decided to continue their education in intermediate schools, perhaps in higher military or civilian academies. There also were those who requested assistance in acquiring controlled merchandise (for example furniture, construction materials, etc.). These questionnaires have been passed on to their respective WKU which are obligated to render assistance to the reservists. To this aim the WKUs have undertaken close collaboration with the voivodship and territorial

...ities. Here in the Lublin voivodship this collaboration functions very well. As to us, we have not encountered any difficulties from the local authorities, administration or places of employment.

[Question] What is the most common problem with which the reservists come to you?

[Answer] It has mostly to do with admission, or acceptance to either the old or a new place of employment or an institution of higher learning. There are, of course, other problems. Some of these involve requests for allocation of housing or for assistance to purchase controlled goods.

[Question] Would you say that the reservists who come to you depart satisfied with the assistance, or advice given to them?

[Answer] I believe so. Practically all these problems--except for housing which, being especially difficult, demands separate handling--are treated on the spot. Until now, we have not encountered any difficulties, or objections from the administration or the places of employment as it pertains to their finding work for the reservists. From the reservists themselves we had no indications of improper dealing with their requests or efforts. I would like to state that some 70 percent of reservists have returned to their old places of employment.

[Question] A portion of the reservists, those with intermediate education, have decided to continue their studies in military or civilian institutions of learning...

[Answer] They have priority in receiving admission. They are relieved from the requirement of entrance examinations in both military and civilian institutions. Of course, they must satisfy the prerequisites such as health, which is a basic requisite for admission to military schools. These reservists who intend to study, direct their requests to the corresponding WKU which puts them on to the appropriate directors of military studies, who are obligated to assist them.

[Question] In what way do you intend to control the practical aspects of granting the rights given to the soldiers of the third-year class group?

[Answer] We give them, and we will continue to maintain contact with them through our organs. We are also well aware of the fact that they will be needed for mobilization in all cases, whenever they need it. They can also count on assistance from the military operational groups. There is no fear that we may forget them. The Army always keeps its word.

Terminal Activities

[Text] [illegible] in Polish 28 May 82 p 3

[Article by [illegible] "In the Fraternal Garrison" "Reserve Officers--Social Activists."]

[illegible] reserve officers, banded together in the Union of Former Professional Soldiers [ZBZ] in Przemysl, have several accomplishments to their credit. Their efforts are manifold, particularly in the current times. They conduct socially beneficial activities mostly in places of employment, housing settlements and the area of middle schools of this city on the banks of the river [Przemysl].

The Patriotic Committee for Salvation and National Accord [PKONiP] was formed in Przemysl at the beginning of February 1982. Among the several dozens of committee members were also many reserve officers. They were also among the members of the six sub-committees, made up of the committee, to deal with [illegible] pressing questions in the area. On their initiative territorial [illegible] branches were also formed in 14 places of employment and city districts.

[illegible] informed us about the activities of the reserve officers in the Przemysl [illegible]. The officers have participated actively in the [illegible] of an appeal to the populace and in preparation of the committee [illegible] program. Today, as part of the everyday activity, they take part in [illegible] with and solving of many of the most burning problems of their [illegible]. For example, in education and child rearing, health and social care services, commerce and utilities, regional economy, environmental protection and adherence to the public law and order.

[illegible], one may say without exaggeration, that after 3 months of operation, [illegible] to the efforts and expertise of the reserve officers, many important [illegible] of life of the Przemysl populace have been successfully resolved. The organization of commerce in the city has improved. Distribution of parcels [illegible] Polish Red Cross has been facilitated. The degree of public compliance with law and order measures has grown. Currently the reserve officers-members of the Przemysl PKONiP-are looking into a matter of a [illegible] medical cooperative which, in the opinion of the patients, has established [illegible] patient rates for specialist visiting services.

[illegible] matters. Despite the fact that during the [illegible] their health has deteriorated, the reserve officers [illegible] effort in order to discharge their public duties in the [illegible]. However, as it pertains to the housing situation, there is [illegible] can be accomplished. For many years this situation has been [illegible] difficult in this thousand year old city on the banks of the San [illegible].

[illegible], assigned to the law enforcement sub-committee, make dozens [illegible] of the municipal establishment and cooperate systematically with the law [illegible] of the militia. Others, for instance from the education and child [illegible] sub-committee, have attended dozens of meetings--to date--with the [illegible] committee chairman, Przemysl. Of particular note, in this respect, are [illegible] Reserve Major Zygmunt, Col (Reserve) Stanislaw Olichwirowicz and it [illegible] Stanislaw Olah.

[illegible], the reserve officers have enthusiastically joined the action [illegible] in Przemysl (a weekly [illegible] kindergarten

construction project--conducted by the readers of the magazine. Some years ago such a kindergarten was founded by the readers of ZYCIE PRZEMYSKIE, it is still serving our youngest citizens well. Unfortunately, many children still cannot find space in a kindergarten. The reserve officers campaign their cause at the city hall, to get a good location for the facility they are popularizing the construction idea and to support to awaken public generosity for this wonderful project.

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BRIEFS

BIALA PODLASKA GOVERNOR RESIGNS--The chairman of the Council of Ministers accepted the resignation of Jozef Piela and recalled him from his post as Biala Podlaska governor in connection with his intention to retire. [Text] [AU132056 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 May 82 p 5]

NEW UNDERSECRETARIES OF STATE--The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Dr Izydor Adamski undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Culture and Art, and Dr Habilitatus Andrzej Dorosz undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Foreign Trade. [AU132056 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 May 82 p 4]

FIRES SPREAD IN POLAND--The chief command of the firefighting service has announced that a violent increase in the number of fires has been noticed in the country. There are at least 100 fires every day. In Brodzikow (Olsztyn Voivodship) a spark caused by welding operations ignited a piggery in which 380 piglets were houses. Preliminary estimates value the loss of these piglets at 1,200 thousand zlotys. A private synthetics plant was set on fire by a burning cigarette butt. As a result, raw materials and finished products were destroyed and Aleksander K., 45, suffered serious burns. [Text] [AU132056 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 6 May 82 p 6]

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION--The Main Statistical Office's analysis of alcohol consumption in 1981 shows that the consumption of hard drinks in 1981 was much lower than in 1980: the per capita consumption of 100 percent alcohol amounted to 8.4 liters in 1980 and to 6.4 liters in 1981. Adults and young people over 16 each consumed 8.6 liters of pure alcohol in 1981, which was 2.8 liters fewer than in 1980. [AU201536 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 May 82 p 5]

INCREASE IN FIRES--This year there have so far been over 10,000 fires in Poland, which is 23.3 percent more than in the same period last year. Agriculture suffers most from the damage caused by fires and accounts for 36.5 percent of all fires. Of the 36.5 percent in question, 17.5 percent account for fires in houses and 11.5 percent for fires in forests. The damage caused by fires in the first 4 months of this year cost 885 million zlotys. [AU201536 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 May 82 p 2]

STATE FLAG PROFANATION--Andrzej W., age 34, and Jozef K., age 26, who had torn to pieces a State flag while drunk in Krakow and used it to polish their shoes, were sentenced to 12 and to 16 months in prison, respectively. [AU201536 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 82 p 5]

CEMETERY DESECRATION IN OLSZTYN--On 14-15 May unknown individuals desecrated 60 graves at the Olsztyn communal cemetery. The most damage was done to the mausoleum of the meritorious Citizens' Militia and Security Service (SB) functionaries. An investigation is underway. [Text] [AU201536 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 82 p 5]

ARREST OF LEAFLET DISTRIBUTOR--A Citizens' Militia (MO) patrol arrested Janusz P., a senior assistant of the Physics Department of Wroclaw University and a member of Solidarity, in Wroclaw in the area of Ulica (Street) Legnicka as he was pasting walls with leaflest. He had 300 leaflets on him, some of which were calling for a nationwide protest strike. [AU201536 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 May 82 p 5]

HAVANA RESEARCH CENTER DELEGATION--At the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee's Institute of Basic Marxist-Leninist Problems [IPPM-L], a two-person delegation from the Research Center on Western Europe in Havana visited Poland. Gustavo Mazorra Hernandez, the Western Europe research center's director, and Jerzy Wiatr, the director of the IPPM-L, signed a 5-year agreement on cooperation. [AU231618 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 May 82 p 2]

LOK APPOINTMENTS--In connection with the appointment of Gen of Division Zygmunt Huszcza as chairman of the National Defense League [LOK] main board, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has placed Gen Huszcza at the disposal of the Ministry of National Defense while simultaneously removing him from his previous post as undersecretary of state at the Ministry for Education and Upbringing. On the recommendation of the minister for education and upbringing, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Gen of Division Jan Czapla undersecretary of state in this ministry. [AU231618 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 May 82 p 2]

ZSMP ANTI-ISRAEL RESOLUTION--The Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP] has adopted a resolution expressing its firm opposition to and condemnation of Israel's policy of invasion, which is supported by the international forces of imperialism and reaction. The resolution states, i.a.: "We support with all our might the Palestinian people, who, under the leadership of the PLO, are waging a persistent struggle for the full realization of their right to self-determination and the establishment of their own independent state. We demand the establishment of a lasting peace in the Near East, one that eliminates the sources of conflict in that region that constitute a threat to world peace. We appeal to all progressive and peace-loving organizations and social movements in the world to render full support to the demands of the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and to resolutely condemn Israeli aggression." [Text] [Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18-20 Jun 82 p 2]

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July 15, 1982